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ADDRESSES

ON

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS:

I. THE PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT OF HOURS
GAINED FROM BUSINESS.

II. DR. JOHNSON.

III. COLUMBUS.

IV. SIR WALTER RALEGH.

V. ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES.

BY THE REV.

JAMES S. M. ANDERSON, M.A.
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN,
CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,
PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, BRIGHTON,
AND PREACHER OF LINCOLN'S INN.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY THOMAS,
EARL OF CHICHESTER,
PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTION,
BEFORE WHOSE MEMBERS SOME OF THE FOLLOWING
ADDRESSES WERE DELIVERED,
AND
THE FAITHFUL AND UNWEARIED PROMOTER OF EVERY
WORK WHICH TENDS TO ADVANCE
THE SPIRITUAL OR TEMPORAL BENEFIT OF HIS FELLOW-MAN,
This Volume is inscribed,
WITH THE MOST SINCERE AFFECTION AND RESPECT.

PREFACE.

FOUR of the following Addresses were delivered to the members of an Institution, the character and objects of which are briefly described in a prefatory note, at page 1. The last was delivered to a different audience, and with a different design.

In submitting them, in their present shape, to public attention, the only desire has been to promote, if possible, in other quarters, the ends contemplated in their first delivery. On this account, some topics, to which the time allotted to an oral address did not allow more than a brief allusion, have been treated at greater length; and, in two or three instances, the order of others has been transposed. With these exceptions, both the substance and form of the original have been retained.

PREACHER'S CHAMBERS, LINCOLN'S INN,
July 10, 1849.

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ERRATA.

Page 126, *note*, for 299, read 399.

— 342, line 20, for *five*, read *six*.

— 384, line 24, for *her*, read *their*.

ADDRESS I.

THE PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT OF HOURS GAINED FROM BUSINESS.

[The following was an Inaugural Address, delivered in 1846 to the members and friends of the Brighton Athenæum, and published at their request. A few verbal alterations are now made in it, and the first part, which referred to matters merely of a local character, is wholly omitted. The Institution was established avowedly for the purpose of affording to persons engaged in professional and commercial pursuits the means of moral and mental advancement; and the means hitherto employed have been those afforded through the medium of a Library and Reading Room, Instruction by Classes, and the Delivery of Lectures.]

THE peculiar character of the position, occupied by such an Institution as ours, may be best ascertained, by comparing it with others of a kindred nature, and noting the points of resemblance and of difference which they present. A comparison of it, for instance, with Literary Institutions in general, will show, that, whilst it resembles them in many most important particulars, yet the

large proportion of members, who are likely to assemble here for the purpose of definite and formal instruction in set Classes, has given to it a distinctive and peculiar feature, not commonly possessed by them. The instruction afforded by Literary Institutions is confined, for the most part, to that which a person may gather for himself in the course of his reading; or the information which may be derived from hearing lectures or papers read upon certain subjects. But, in our Institution, whilst these channels of information will not be withheld, that which is communicated through the medium of Class instruction, I hope, will be the most prominent.

And yet this Institution cannot be said to be professedly, or exclusively, Educational. If it were, I should not have been prepared to join it in its present form. I think no system of teaching can properly deserve the name of education, which is not based upon sound religious principles; and such an education, in my judgment, is best carried on, when they who teach, and they who are taught, are of the same communion, and are enabled thereby, without disturbing the consciences of others, or tampering with their own, to "walk by the same rule," and to

“mind the same thing¹.” But, in the present case, diversity of opinion does not require of me any compromise of those principles which it is my office and privilege, as a Minister of the Church of Christ, to uphold, because the work of systematic education is not here to be carried on. The age of most of the members of this Institution shows, that, as far as their own means and opportunities, or those of their parents and guardians, in earlier days, have been allowed to effect their education, the work is done. By education, we understand the formation of the character; and theirs is, in the main, formed. The mind, which was ‘wax to receive,’ has already become the ‘marble to retain’ whatsoever impressions of evil or of good it may have received. That those impressions are, for the most part, good, I have every reason to believe. If asked for proof, I point at once to the fact of your assembling here, with a desire to employ aright the time which has been granted you. And when, under such circumstances, you seek for counsel and encouragement at our hands, I know not upon what just grounds we can refuse to give it.

But, whilst this Institution differs in these

¹ Phil. iii. 16.

several respects from those which are purely Literary, or those which are simply Educational, I think it differs somewhat also from those which bear the name of Mechanics' Institutes. And for this reason. The habits and pursuits of most of its members differ very widely from those of ordinary mechanics and labourers. Many branches of instruction, therefore, which would be profitable for men who are versed only in the mysteries of their handicraft, might not be of the same practical advantage to you ; and, on the other hand, many objects which, I hope, will here interest and improve your minds, might not yield the same fruit to the mechanic.

Institutions such as this have arisen out of a combination of circumstances and feelings which mark the times in which we live, and will continue to mark them in the pages of future history. They represent the existence of wants which it is not easy to supply immediately, or adequately, from any other quarter ; and you have acted wisely in endeavouring to apply to the specific evils, of which you have complained, a specific remedy.

You must not be discouraged, however, if you meet with some persons, who are slow to

see the necessity or expediency of such an Institution. An unwillingness immediately to quicken our pace, or to depart out of our own beaten track, at the call of others, is natural to most of us. And, where men have been successful in business, under circumstances less advantageous than your own, they will not be at a loss for arguments to prove that you may reasonably hope to experience the like success, without the aid of such apparatus as that which is here provided for you.

Still more likely is it that others will acquiesce in such a conclusion, who, strangers to toil and difficulty, care for none but for themselves. Nay, the truth of the conclusion itself may, to a certain extent, be admitted; namely, in so far as it acknowledges, that, as some men have been successful in spite of difficulties, so others may succeed likewise. No doubt they may. It is an observation, for the truth of which abundant evidence may be found in every department of human enterprise. But, if it be converted into an argument for withholding from the mass of our fellow-men the means of making their burdens more light, and their progress in the path of daily duty more easy, I hesitate not to say that it argues, not merely a lack of

generous feeling, but a lack also of knowledge with respect to the true principle upon which all systems of instruction, or help of any kind, are founded. They are framed, not for the purpose of informing or assisting the master mind ; for the energies of such a mind will be found to operate independently of all rules, and, whether adventitious aid be given to it or not, it will make itself known. But they are designed for the benefit of men whose intellect is less acute, and whose energies are less active. It is they who need the word of counsel to encourage them, the hand of friendly sympathy to help them onward.

If it be argued that those classes of the community, whose interests it is now wished to promote, have done very well in former days, without any such aid as that which is now about to be extended to them, and that, therefore, it would be well to let things remain as they are, I answer,—in addition to the many proofs which have been established, upon other grounds, to show the necessity for improving their condition,—that to attempt to keep their condition as it is, will be to attempt an impossibility. There is a law, controlling alike our physical and our moral being, which forbids us to believe that fixedness can long be the character of any condi-

tion of life. If men advance not, they must go back ; if they become not better, they inevitably grow worse. This is a law, which reigns throughout universal nature. It is always in operation. Its effects are to be discovered on every side. And, of course, its influence will then be perceived most clearly and palpably, when, in a state of society which possesses both the desire and the power to advance, the attempt is made to keep any sections of it stationary.

No man, I think, will deny that the state of society, which belongs to the present era, is distinguished, above all others, by the qualities which I have just mentioned ; namely, the desire and the power to advance. To resist such progress is not possible ; and, if possible, would not be lawful : since the resistance would be nothing less than the wilful rejection of benefits which God's Providence has scattered in our path. Look only to those benefits which the oldest in this room must remember to have seen wrought in his own day ; and the commencement of some of which may have been witnessed even by the youngest. Look, for instance, to the valuable discoveries made, I may almost say daily, throughout the vast and various fields of Natural Science. Look to

the new powers with which the Telescope and Microscope are invested, and which enable us,—in a way more wonderful than any which man's imagination could ever have conceived possible,—‘to see a system in every star, a world in every atom’².’ Look also to the spark of the Electric Telegraph, darting with lightning speed through miles of space, and, as it darts, communicating thought from man to man. But why need I go through the long catalogue of wonders? Look only to the effects which have been produced by the single agency of Steam, and see what centuries of improvement, in comparison with the past, the last half century has comprised within itself. I would not wish to speak of them in my own words. Let me employ those of Webster, one of the wisest, as well as most eloquent, of American orators and statesmen :

‘Every where practicable, every where efficient, it has an arm a thousand times stronger than Hercules, and to which human ingenuity is capable of fitting a thousand times as many hands as belonged to Briareus. Steam is found in triumphant operation on the seas ; and, under the influence of its strong propulsion, the gallant ship

² See the eloquent description of the Telescope and Microscope, towards the end of the third of Chalmers' *Astronomical Discourses*.

Against the wind, against the tide,
Still steadies, with an upright keel.

It is on the rivers, and the boatman may repose on his oars ; it is in highways, and exerts itself along the courses of land conveyance ; it is at the bottom of mines, a thousand feet below the earth's surface ; it is in the mill, and in the workshops of the trades. It rows, it pumps, it excavates, it carries, it draws, it lifts, it hammers, it spins, it weaves, it prints. It seems to say to men, at least to the class of artisans, Leave off your manual labour, give over your bodily toil ; bestow but your skill and reason to the directing of my power, and I will bear the toil—with no muscle to grow weary, no nerve to relax, no breast to feel faintness³.

Now, if these be among the marvels of the present day, is there any human being who can say that his own position in the world is not affected by them ? Not now to enumerate all the changes which may arise, I would ask him whether there be not a positive addition made hereby to the period of his own existence ? I mean not, of course, an addition to the days, and weeks, and months, and years, by which the course of life is reckoned, but an addition to all the 'appliances and means' of usefulness which may, and ought to, be exerted within those limits. Life is virtually prolonged, where-

³ Webster's Introductory Lecture to Mechanics' Institute at Boston, Nov. 12, 1828. Speeches, i. 445, 6.

soever the facilities of sight, and motion, and thought, and knowledge, and action, are multiplied. And, if it be so, then is a greater responsibility attached to that stewardship which God has committed to the charge of all of us. A higher value is imparted to the trust; and heavier will be the sin of throwing it away, or of employing it unprofitably.

I know not how I can better enforce this consideration than by citing the following passage from a speech, delivered by Sir Robert Peel, several years ago, upon his Inauguration into the office of Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow: Speaking of the changes daily effected by the agency of Steam in the pre-existing relations of society, his words are—

‘ The steam-engine and the railroad are not merely facilitating the transport of merchandize; they are not merely shortening the duration of journeys, or administering to the supply of physical wants. They are speeding the intercourse between mind and mind—they are creating new demands for knowledge—they are fertilizing the intellectual as well as the material waste—they are removing the impediments which obscurity, or remoteness, or poverty may have heretofore opposed to the energy of real merit.’

I believe that these are “ words of truth

4 Sir Robert Peel’s Inaugural Address, p. 22.

and soberness;" that they describe accurately the benefits which result from the agency of this mighty instrument ; and that the years which have elapsed since they were spoken, have but supplied fresh and diverse testimony in support of the same truth. What then is the duty of wise men, who find themselves placed in the midst of changes so numerous and so vast ? Should not their prayer be to gain for all classes the utmost amount of benefit thus placed within their reach ; and should not their efforts be directed to the accomplishment of their prayer ? To this great end, let them—to borrow the forcible language of Dugald Stewart—"heave the log into the deep, and measure the rapidity of the current by which the world is borne along". They cannot, I repeat it, stop the progress of the current, if they would ; and they ought not, if they could. Neither may they stand idly by, trusting to the strength of the moorings to which their vessel is made fast ; for the stoutest cables may give way, and the fairest vessel may drift and be lost amid rocks and shallows. Let them strive, therefore, and turn, in the best direction, the stream which is carrying

² Dugald Stewart's Preface, p. 11, to his Preliminary Dissertation.

them forward. Let them open for it a free course into regions where it is most needed ; and rejoice as they see it ' fertilizing the intellectual as well as the material waste.'

Some persons, it would appear, are strangers to this joy. They see not the source from which it springs. They care not for the end towards which it aspires. They would have no change. Things were well enough before. Why depart from them? Why talk of improvements, where none are needed? Why make a step in advance, when the ground on which we stand is sufficient for our purpose? I scarcely know how to deal with such men. They remind me of those disciples of Aristotle, who, when the Telescope was first invented, were so alarmed, lest the theory, which had been for many years familiar to their minds, should be disturbed, that they positively refused to look through the instrument⁶. Or, to take an illustration nearer home, it seems to me that such objectors,—if they are really so afraid of moving onwards in the fair and lawful path of advancement, and would be consistent with themselves in all things,—are bound to make application to Mr. Goodman to draw out the old Regent

⁶ See Note in the first chapter of the above Dissertation, p. 19, containing an anecdote from the Life of Galileo.

Coach from its hiding-place, and to be content with a steady seven hours' drive up to London, instead of speeding thither and back, at a less cost, and in less than half the time, by the Express Train. How far they are prepared to act upon such a plan, or how many fellow-travellers they think it likely will bear them company upon their journey, I leave it for themselves to determine.

Turn we now to the consideration of another,—the last part of the subject which I shall place before you,—namely, certain general principles and rules which may assist the younger members of this Institution, in employing profitably the hours which they have gained from business. Those which relate to the formation and conduct of Classes for instruction, have been anticipated by the arrangements already made among yourselves, and by the promptitude with which you are carrying them into effect. Upon the details connected with them, therefore, it is not necessary for me now to dwell. But you hope to find other means of moral and intellectual improvement, in the opportunities which may here be afforded to you: and let us consider, how you may make the best use of them.

You wish to store your minds with pro-

fitable knowledge. Take heed, then, that you do not mistake, or misplace, the real end of knowledge. That its end may be mistaken, and that such mistakes are fraught with the greatest evil, is capable of being proved, if it were needful, by a host of testimonies. I ask you now only to observe the single testimony of Lord Bacon, as it is given in his *Advancement of Learning*.

‘Men have entered,’ he tells us, ‘into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men.’

Herein you perceive a just, philosophical, division of the various mistakes which men have committed with respect to the end of knowledge; and the true view which ought to be taken of it by all. And now follows,—that which is one of the chief characteristics of Bacon’s writings,—the rich vein of poetry which he employs to illustrate the truth before enunciated:—

‘As if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state,

for a proud mind to raise itself upon ; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention ; or a shop, for profit or sale ; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate?'

Mark well these words. Behold with reverence and gratitude, the glorious temple which here lifts up its front before you. Its portals are opened wide. Draw near, and enter them. Traverse the chambers of this 'rich storehouse ;' and count all the treasures which it yields, 'for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate.' Who shall forbid your progress? Who shall venture to bar up the avenues which lead hither, and say that there is no admission for you : that the treasures, piled here in heaps, are not meant for such men? What? Are they not treasures destined 'for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate?' And may not you show forth the Creator's glory, by learning to obey His will? Or is your estate to be denied the relief which His mercy giveth? You have received the gifts of an immortal spirit, senses, affections, reason. What more gifts, or gifts more precious than these, does any man possess? It were impossible, then, to say truly that the means, supplied in this

⁷ Bacon's Works, edited by Basil Montagu, ii. 51.

‘rich storehouse,’ of cultivating the gifts common to all men, are only to be confined to the few who have entered in, and that others may not, must not, follow them. The very thought were impiety. If it should find access to the hearts of any here, and they should deem, that, being themselves of this favoured number, they may not invite others to their side, I would say to them, that they have already covered themselves with delusion as with a cloak. Their senses are locked up in deep slumber. They do but dream that they are inmates of this ‘rich storehouse.’ They have not yet crossed even its threshold, or caught the most distant glimpse of the treasures that are lodged within it. Were it actually their inheritance, they would feel, that, should the whole world be enriched by it, they themselves would be none the poorer. Were they really partakers of its fulness, there would be no pitiful jealousies, no proud thrusting aside of their brethren ; but they would see, and joyfully confess, that the opportunities for promoting ‘the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man’s estate,’ are boundless as the love of Him Who upholdeth “all things by the word of His power”.

* Heb. i. 3.

What, then, is your duty, who see the false and the true ends of knowledge thus set before you by the greatest of England's philosophers? Will you turn aside, and seek some 'couch, whereupon to rest' a 'searching and restless spirit,' and deem that you are profitably employing the hours which you have gained from other occupations? Or will you be content 'to walk up and down,' as upon a fair 'terrace,' so that whilst the 'mind' is still 'wandering and variable,' the eyes only may be gladdened with a prospect which soon vanisheth? Or will you build up 'a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon?' Or entrench yourselves within 'a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention?' Or open 'a shop, for profit or sale?' Not so, my friends. Let no man, I beseech you, thus beguile any to whom I speak of the real blessings which may be obtained. Believe me, it is forbidden you to gather here the elements which shall pamper pride, or keep up strife and contention. And, although it is not forbidden you to seek refreshment and repose for the wearied mind, or to spread before it visions of ideal beauty, or to acquire those materials which may, in some way or other, minister hereafter to your temporal welfare;—yet,

be assured, that these advantages will be ever most precious, when they are sought after, not for their own sake, as the sole ends for which knowledge is desirable, but when they rise up, spontaneously and freely, in your way towards the attainment of an end yet loftier and more enduring than any of them. Their dwelling-place is a part of the 'rich storehouse,' now opened to you, 'for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate.'

You say that you wish to enter within its precincts. I believe that your wish is sincere, and from the heart. You ask what course is best to be pursued, when you have entered. I answer, that course, which proves you to be earnest in your desire to possess yourselves, as much as possible, of the fulness of its various treasures. It is useless to promise any portion of them to the idle, the careless, the fickle, or the vain. Such men, whatsoever may be their professions,—as long as they deserve to be so characterized,—will only fritter away, here and elsewhere, the precious moments of their lives. The mere fact of their names being enrolled in the catalogue of our members, will not secure to them the real benefits which it is the design of this Institution to give. They have taken one step,

indeed, and in a right direction ; but it will have been taken in vain, unless it be followed by a determination to apply themselves right manfully to the prosecution of some definite and useful study. I know not how I can better illustrate the importance of this remark than by quoting the words of another American, sagacious, indeed, zealous, humane, and eloquent—and therefore I quote his words,—(would that I could with equal readiness have recognized him a true guide in all things!)

‘A bird,’ he tells us, ‘may be shot upwards to the skies by a foreign force ; but it rises, in the true sense of the word, only when it spreads its own wings, and soars by its own living power’.

Is not this an image exactly descriptive of your own case? You may be, and are, at this moment, ‘shot upwards by a foreign force,’ to a position more elevated than that which was before familiar to you. But, if you would wish your position to be elevated, in the true sense of the word, it can only be by the proper and legitimate exercise of the faculties which God has given you ; as the bird mounts up towards heaven ‘only when

* Channing’s Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Portion of the Community, p. 21.

it spreads its own wings, and soars by its own living power.'

But some of you may say, that it seems well-nigh useless to mark out any definite and consistent line of study, when the hours allowed to it are so few, and those only to be had after a long day of toil. To this I answer, that the efforts which you have made to gain those few hours is the best proof of the value which you attach to them ; and there is no way by which the greatness of that value can be so truly made manifest, to others not less than to yourselves, as by pursuing the course here suggested to you. The very pains which you must take to make those hours useful, will induce habits, the benefit of which will spread themselves to every portion of your life. Nay more. The positive advancement which you will find yourselves making will be far greater than any, who regard the matter vaguely and from a distance, can conceive to be possible. You have abundant evidence of the truth of this fact, in the achievements which men have been enabled to accomplish, in every department of human enterprise, under circumstances of much heavier difficulty than those which you have to encounter. I need but refer you to the well-known lives of Simpson,

and Ferguson, and Walton, and Franklin, and Brindley, and many others, for convincing proof of what is here stated¹. And your own knowledge of more, in the present day, who have pursued, or are pursuing, a like course, will doubtless supply you with further testimony to the same effect.

Let me also, whilst I am glancing at this point, not omit one very remarkable testimony to prove the amount of knowledge which may be acquired and diffused by a steady and consistent use of hours gained from laborious toil. It is to be found in a work which has been known for some few years past in America, by the name of 'The Lowell Offering;' and which has recently been brought to the knowledge of the British public, in a selection edited and published by Mr. Charles Knight, under the title of 'Mind amongst the Spindles.' It is a miscellaneous work, wholly composed by girls employed in the factory-mills erected at Lowell, in Massachusetts, the largest manufacturing city in the United States. There can be no doubt that it fully bears out the eulogium passed upon it both by the American and

¹ See the Volume in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, entitled, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties.'

English editors; and I only refrain from citing its own convincing evidence, because I would wish each one of you to ascertain it for himself, and thereby be supplied with a more powerful stimulus to devote to the consideration of subjects not less useful, the time which you have gained.

I have already said that those among you who have formed, or are forming, yourselves into Classes for instruction, have given the surest proof of your desire to set to work in the right spirit. I should rejoice to see your example followed,—and I am sure it will be,—by many more. The reader for mere amusement is exposed, I think, to much evil. It is only one of the many sources from which a luxurious, self-indulging, spirit finds materials to feed its appetite; and the mind cannot suffer dissipation with impunity any more than the body. In both cases, the energies, which might and ought to have been braced to deeds of usefulness, become slack, disordered, and enfeebled. A morbid feeling spreads itself over the whole man. The very pleasures which he once craved for, as he loitered over the pages of the novel or the poem, soon pall upon his taste; and he grows listless, and weary, and disgusted. I would not, of course, exclude altogether

works of fiction from your range of reading. I know that they are oftentimes directed to ends so noble, that to place them beyond your reach, would be unlawful; and I am sure that I have myself derived too much pleasure,—I hope, innocent pleasure,—from them, to think for one moment of denying that pleasure unto others. Nevertheless, I would not have you to make such ‘light reading’ (as it is often called) your chief, still less your sole, pursuit. You will relish it the more, believe me, if you resort to it only sparingly.

Again, at the risk of being thought tedious, I must impress upon you the necessity of marking out some definite and precise course of study. You know best to what particular branches you are the most attached, either by inclination, or education, or professional pursuits. As soon as you have decided what that branch is, adhere to it closely and steadily. Remember that you have many advantages which some who are placed in a higher position than yourselves may not always possess to the same extent. The qualities, which are demanded for the faithful and successful prosecution of your daily business, give proof that you possess them: a quick observation, an acute per-

ception, habits of punctuality and order, a retentive memory,—these, together with the faculty of writing, and keeping accounts, with rapidity and correctness,—I take it for granted, are qualities required in all, or the greater part, of you ; and the exercise of them must be hourly called for in the routine of your ordinary duties. Now, these are precisely the qualities which one would most desire to see exhibited even in candidates about to enter into the contest for academical distinction. The possession of them, therefore, may fairly be regarded as a great advantage to those, who, although they aspire not to the honours of the Schools or Senate-house, are seeking to enlarge and improve, as best they can, their moral and intellectual faculties.

The study of Mathematics, for instance, may be very profitable for some of you ; profitable, not only with reference to its own peculiar results,—for the attainment of which I have already said you are in some degree prepared,—but also with reference to its collateral benefits. For, as Bacon has truly said of Mathematics,

‘ If the wit be too dull, they sharpen it ; if too wandering, they fix it ; if too inherent, they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but

of great use, in respect it maketh a quick eye, and a body ready to put itself in all postures; so in the Mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient, is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended².

The like may be said of History, throughout all its divisions, of Geography, of Philosophy, of the Arts and Sciences. There is not one among you who may not prosecute the study of one or other of these, with advantage to himself and others. All I ask of you is, not to wander from one subject to another; and not to treat, lightly or superficially, even any one subject. Remember the proverb which tells us to 'beware of the man of one book.' It contains much truth. The opposition of such a man is formidable, for he has tried his armour; he is accustomed to each part of it, and can at once apply it to its proper use, whether of assault or defence. The man of many books is no match for him; unless indeed he has,—what falls to the lot of few men,—an apprehension so quick, a judgment so correct, and a memory so tenacious, that he can convert, by an assimilating process, all his materials into one form. In such a case, he may be said to possess, in reality, the available knowledge

² Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Works, ii. 145.

of a man of one book, although versed in the contents of many. But, in ordinary cases, the fact is otherwise: and a confused, uncertain, haziness of mind, is the only result of desultory and superficial reading. Howsoever precious the stores which have been gathered in, there is wanting that which Bacon fitly calls 'the strength of all sciences,—the strength of the old man's fagot,—the band³,' which binds all together.

I lay the more stress upon this point, because, I believe, the evil which I have pointed out is one to which, it is very probable, the members of such an Institution as this will be exposed. The variety of subjects which, one after the other, may here start up to interest their minds, is of itself sufficient to make them eager to know something of all of them. They may be tempted to hurry on to the second, before they have properly taken the bearings of the first; and thus, in the end, their learning will be like that to which Dr. Johnson has unfairly compared the learning of the Scotch, namely,

'Bread in a besieged town; where every man gets a little, but no man gets a full meal⁴.'

³ Advancement of Learning, Works, ii. 39.

⁴ Boswell's Life of Johnson, iii. 239. Croker's Ed.

Or, perhaps, they may even come under the description of the men whose condition is represented by Cowper as still worse, whose toil is that

Of dropping buckets into empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up⁵.

Bear with me then, once more, whilst, in seeking to save you from such a profitless pursuit of knowledge as that here described, I venture to recommend to you the plan, not only of adhering to one definite line of study, but of making it a practice also to reduce, into an abridged form, and in notes of your own composition, the substance of what you read. You will find this practice of essential service, not only towards obtaining a more exact knowledge of the subject matter of your studies, but you will be able more readily to make that knowledge your own, and turn it to a practical account. Moreover, you will find this practice a great help towards the general strengthening of your memory. Johnson, indeed, has said somewhere, that, 'what is twice read, is better than what is once written;' and, with the marvellous power which he possessed of learning the contents of a book almost at a

⁵ The Task : The Garden.

glance, he, no doubt, expressed sincerely the result of his own experience. But, with men of inferior minds, I will venture to say, that to write over again in their own language the substance of what they have once read, will imprint it more deeply upon their minds than if they were to read a second time the same passage⁶. It is a process which, to use the forcible language of Locke, enables the mind to 'set the stamp deep into itself.' If no such definite impression be made, the same philosopher declares,—and let our experience bear witness to the truth of the declaration,—that

'Ideas in the mind quickly fade, and often vanish quite out of the understanding, leaving no more footsteps or remaining characters of themselves than shadows do flying over fields of corn ;'

that

'The ideas, as well as children, of our youth often die

⁶ If the suggestion here made needs the confirmation of authority, it is abundantly supplied in the suggestions which Locke himself has given in his 'Method of a Common-Place Book,' Works, iii. 331—349 ; and especially in the following words of Lord Bacon : 'Because it is but a counterfeit thing in knowledges to be forward and pregnant, except a man be deep and full, I hold the entry of common-places, to be a matter of great use and essence in studying, as that which assureth "copia" of invention, and contracteth judgment to a strength.'—Advancement of Learning, Works, ii. 194.

before us : and our minds represent to us those tombs to which we are approaching ; where, though the brass and marble remain, yet the inscriptions are effaced by time, and the imagery moulders away. The pictures drawn in our minds are laid in fading colours, and, if not sometimes refreshed, vanish and disappear⁷.

How touching and beautiful are these illustrations ! and true, as they are beautiful !

I pass on now to notice another principle, of which I am desirous that you should never lose sight, namely, this,—not to imagine, when you have made progress in any study, that you have arrived at the end of it ; or that you are qualified to pronounce, dogmatically, unerring judgment upon itself or its results. It is a temptation, believe me, to which earnest and zealous minds are frequently exposed ; and much evil has resulted from yielding to it. It was, doubtless, the apprehension of this evil which led Pope to give utterance to those well-known lines—

A little learning is a dangerous thing ;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring⁸.

The aphorism here pronounced cannot, of necessity, be true in all cases. If it were, then should we all be in danger ; for the

⁷ Locke on the Human Understanding, b. ii. c. x. s. 4, 5.

⁸ Essay on Criticism, l. 215, &c.

learning possessed by any one of us is, after all, but 'little.' We must all begin by learning 'a little;' and, even after we have learned what the world may regard as 'much,' we are still only in a condition better to understand the comparative nothingness of human knowledge. What said the great Newton, when he looked back upon that train of deep research which to us appears so wonderful? 'I do not know what I may appear to the world, but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the sea-shore, finding sometimes a brighter pebble or a smoother shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me'.⁹ Such have ever been the feelings of the wisest and the most learned of men. That they are just feelings, the poet, whose words I have here quoted, himself acknowledges; for, in the context of the same passage, he goes on to say,

Fir'd at first sight with what the Muse imparts,
In fearless youth we tempt the heights of Arts,
While from the bounded level of our mind¹,
Short views we take, nor see the lengths behind;

⁹ Quoted in Sir Robert Peel's Speech before the University of Glasgow, *ut sup.*, p. 9.

¹ Bacon has employed the same illustration, saying, 'No perfect discovery can be made upon a flat or level:

But more advanc'd, behold, with strange surprise,
New distant scenes of endless science rise!

* * * *

Th' increasing prospect tries our wand'ring eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise!

To argue, therefore, as some men have attempted to argue, from the familiar lines of Pope, that, men who have not the opportunity of becoming profoundly versed in learning ought not to learn any thing, is to bring us to a conclusion which proves too much; for it would prohibit any man of any grade from making even the attempt to learn, or to think, at all. What? Is there to be no middle ground, between the loftiest heights of philosophy and the depths of brutish ignorance? Because I cannot drink long, deep, draughts from 'the Pierian spring,' may I not stoop down for a moment, as I pass by,—faint with the dust and turmoil of the world,—and slake my thirst in its refreshing waters? Because I cannot measure the length, and breadth, and height of God's glorious temple, may I not stand even upon the threshold, and gaze upon its splendour? Am I to remain a stranger to

neither is it possible to discover the more remote and deeper parts of any science, if you stand but upon the level of the same science, and ascend not to a higher science.'—*Advancement of Learning*, Works, ii. 48.

the laws of mechanical powers, because I can never hope to arrive at that exquisite adaptation of them to a particular end which has stamped immortality upon the names of Arkwright and of Watt? May I not trace the simpler workings of chemical action, although the discoveries of Davy, of Dalton, or of Faraday, shall never be mine? Or, because I am denied the time or the ability to understand the Principia of Newton, am I therefore to know nothing of the properties of the triangle or the square? The very thought is folly. Men have been betrayed into it from their overwhelming sense of the evils which have sprung from the vanity and rashness of superficial critics. Such men have 'little learning;' and it is 'dangerous,' only because they flatter themselves that it is great. Mistaking

'A slight acquaintance with the terms of art for a knowledge of its principles; a familiarity with the general outline, or some of the detached portions, of history, for a deep insight into its secret springs; a perception of some of the results of natural philosophy, for a power of prosecuting original discoveries; a smattering of religious and moral science, for a penetration into its profounder mysteries²;

² Introductory Lecture, p. 25, delivered by the present Dean of Chichester to the Literary and Philosophical

they set up grievous stumbling-blocks in the way both of themselves and others, and give occasion to the hasty or prejudiced observer to rail even against the truth.

One consolation, indeed, we may derive from the record of those false judgments, which an imperfect knowledge of the facts relating to them has pronounced ; namely, that their falseness has been, and ever will be, exposed and corrected by further accessions of knowledge. If, therefore, in our own day, we should hear of discoveries being made in natural science, or conclusions drawn from them, which seem to militate against the statements of God's Revealed Word, let us not be alarmed, or think that any close alliance is about to be established between philosophy and infidelity. Rather let us call to mind the fact, that former ages have been scared by similar alarms ; and that we have lived to see the utter groundlessness of their fears. Thus, Galileo was hunted down by mad persecutors, and charged with impugning the authority of Divine truth ; but succeeding generations have pronounced the unanimous

Society of that City. I earnestly recommend both this Lecture, and the excellent Inaugural Address of which it is the continuation, to the attentive perusal of the reader.

verdict of his acquittal. The matured results of those discoveries to which he led the way, have made known 'laws, by which the followers of Newton can now measure the hosts of heaven, and by the promulgation of which, a more emphatic testimony is rendered to the glory of their great Creator'.³ So, too, they who apprehended that the foundations of sacred chronology were assailed by the inscriptions discovered, some years since, in Egypt, have been enabled, by the subsequent explanations of Young and Champollion, to see that the alleged antiquity of the inscriptions themselves has yet to be proved. Of Geology, likewise, it may be said, with perfect truth, that the difficulties with which it has been encumbered, and which make some men regard its study with aversion, are caused simply by the fact, that it has yet to make good its title to the name of a complete science.

'Its deformities are those of the rude materials of the building, ere they receive the order and beauty and proportion which adorn the finished structure.
• There is no real cause for perplexity, therefore, in the

³ In this and in the passage next cited, I have ventured to repeat part of the second Sermon on the Creation, in my series of Discourses, entitled, 'The Cloud of Witnesses,' i. 78.

rash, crude, theories which sometimes have been put forth by its professors, or their opponents. You may leave them, with perfect security to yourselves, to find their own level. Like the armed men, which sprang up from the teeth of the fabled dragon, their energies have only operated to their mutual destruction; and truth survives amid the overthrow. Nay, so fresh, so fertile, so boundless, is the field of enterprise laid open, that the very ground which is confidently occupied to-day, as the surest platform for the erection of theoretical truth, shall be abandoned by the same teacher to-morrow: and, if candour accompany him in his enquiries, he will acknowledge that the prosecution of them supplies him with many a powerful instrument to refute his foregone conclusions. Have we not a right, therefore, to infer, that, wheresoever the results of scientific investigation seem to run counter to the Inspired Word, the opposition arises not from the strength, but the weakness, of science; not from the extent, but the narrowness, of its discoveries? As long only as few and feeble rays of light break in through the crevices, no marvel that the figures of the chamber wherein we dwell appear distorted or misplaced; but let the full brightness of day stream in without impediment, and each differing form and proportion shall be distinctly recognized. We may not, therefore, decry this or any other science as dangerous or useless, because it does not spring at once into life, in perfect strength and symmetry. Nay, the very experiments which, in its progress, have proved fallacious, we are convinced, are not without their use; for thereby overweening confidence is checked, experience matured, vigilance increased, patience exercised, and fresh avenues are opened for the admission of further light. And, upon the strength

of this conviction, we will confess, that, let Science but make good its name, Religion must be the gainer⁴

I believe that the sympathies of the Public have gone heartily and fully along with you in the desire which many of you have so strongly manifested to abridge some portion of the usual hours of business; and the remark applies, I doubt not, to every other town in England, as truly as it does to this. I will not allow myself to suppose that those sympathies will be less powerful now, when it is found that you are animated by a sincere desire to employ profitably the hours which have been thus gained. The object of this Institution,—I repeat it once more,—is not to raise any one of you out of the condition in which God has placed you; but to raise that condition itself. Can such an object be regarded with jealousy? Or, shall it be said that the methods which have been proposed are not adapted to it; that they are more likely to puff up the minds of young men engaged in commercial pursuits, than to supply them with the materials of wholesome aliment? Some such apprehensions, I think, I have heard expressed; and, if any one

⁴ The Cloud of Witnesses, i. 78—81.

would wish to see them stated in more emphatic language, I need only bring to their remembrance the well-known words of Hamlet to Horatio:—‘These three years I have taken note of it; the age is grown so picked^s, that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe.’ I remind you of these words, simply for the purpose of showing to you, that, if two centuries and a half have elapsed since Shakspeare put them into the mouth of his philosophic prince, and the relative positions of the courtier and the peasant still remain substantially the same, the apprehension which they express rests, after all, upon no very strong foundation. If, however, the apprehension be once more revived, and enterprises, such as that in which we are now engaged, be pointed out as affording real and tangible ground for its existence, I can only suggest to the courtier,—as the surest way to protect his heel, and to prevent his kibe from being galled,—that he ought not to turn back and cast a jealous, or suspicious, or angry, frown upon those who seem to approach too closely towards him; but

^s That is, ‘smart,’ or ‘sharp.’ See Hanmer’s and Johnson’s Notes on Hamlet, Act V. Scene 1.

brace up his energies to more strenuous action, and press forward to the goal with more courageous resolve. The path which leads to truth, and along which the blessed foretastes of its possession are largely scattered, is wide enough to be traversed, without danger of collision or impediment, both by courtier and by peasant ; yea, wide enough for all who shall seek, however earnestly, to press into it. Let no man fear that the pressure may be too great. Rather let all be comforted by the thought, that it is only by being near one another, that we can see and feel one another's wants ; and that it is thus we can best obey the Apostolic word, which commands us to "bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ *."

Cherishing, therefore, a good hope, that mutual confidence will be strengthened, and a wider field be opened for the interchange of kindly offices, by the right conduct of Institutions such as this, I may be permitted to express my earnest prayer, that nothing be done upon our part which shall hinder these results ; that no spirit of rashness, or self-will, disturb our counsels, or cast reproach upon our acts. You seek after know-

* Gal. vi. 2.

ledge; and you seek it the more eagerly, because you remember the saying of that great philosopher, whose words I have once and again quoted, that 'Knowledge is Power.' No doubt, he has made this declaration, and made it truly. But I know not where he has said that Knowledge is always, or of necessity, Wisdom. On the contrary, I believe that it will not be possible to find, throughout the whole range of literature, descriptions more just or clear than those which Bacon himself has shown of the evil of the 'peccant humours,' as he terms them, of 'phantastical,' 'contentious,' or 'delicate learning'.⁷ If knowledge be not purged, then, of these, and other 'peccant humours,' which are engendered by the unruly wills and affections of our nature, it is evident that its power will operate greatly, if not entirely, for evil. And, that the knowledge,

⁷ *Advancement of Learning*, Works, ii. 39—53. Other like evils he has described in his *Novum Organum*, under the names of four species of idols which beset the human mind,—'all of which (he says) must be abjured and renounced with firm and solemn resolution, and the understanding must be completely freed and cleared of them; so that the access to the kingdom of man, which is founded on the sciences, may resemble that to the kingdom of heaven, where no admission is conceded except to children.' Works, xiv. 35—49.

which men can acquire by the aid of the intellect alone, is not able to throw off from itself such formidable evils ; that it needs an illumination yet brighter to enlighten it, a strength yet mightier to sustain it, is further evident, not only from the description which Bacon gives of Knowledge, in the passage where its power is most clearly described ⁸, but, yet more emphatically, in the prayers whereby he himself held communion with the great Father of Spirits. Thus, in the Prayer which he designates 'The Student's Prayer,'—after imploring of 'God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit,—to open to us new refreshments out of the fountains of His goodness, for the alleviating of our miseries,' he adds,

'This also we humbly and earnestly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are divine ; neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, any thing of incredulity, or intellectual right, may arise in our minds towards divine mysteries. But rather, that by our mind thoroughly cleaned and purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the Divine oracles, there may be given unto faith the things that are faith's.'

Again, in another Prayer, he devoutly confesses,

⁸ Works, ii. 83.

'Thy Creatures, O Lord, have been my books; but Thy Scriptures much more. I have sought Thee in the courts, fields, and gardens; but I have found Thee in Thy temples⁹.'

May you likewise, thus finding the Author of all true wisdom, be turned away from the "knowledge," which "puffeth up," and be filled with the "charity which edifieth"¹! being "wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil"²!

If this prospect were not now present to my mind, and if it were not accompanied with the hope that the blessings which it holds out are likely to be realized, I confess that I should attach a very slight value to the work in which we are now engaged. But your zeal and earnestness have revealed the promise of good things, and encourage me to look forward to its accomplishment. I cannot believe that you would attach so much importance to the hours now made your own, were it not for the conviction, deeply lodged within your hearts, that time is the pathway to eternity; that its best enjoyments are but the embellishments of a scene which you must one day quit; and that you are seeking for them, only so far as

⁹ Bacon's Works, vii. pp. 4, and 8, 9.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

² Rom. xvi. 19.

they may enable you to sow that seed of holiness, from which the harvest of glory shall spring up. In the same degree that I believe this my estimate of your purposes to be just, so do I pray

That taught of God, [you] may indeed be wise,
Nor ignorantly wandering, miss the skies*.

I dare not trust myself to think that any lower object than this shall be regarded by you as worthy to be the ultimate end of your exertions. Still less can I venture to cast such severe reproach upon your past acts, or think so lightly of the honesty of your present professions, as to suppose that any of you are prepared to bury in idleness, or waste in profligacy, the hours which have been now gained from business. It would be a sad requital to the kindness of Employers, if their Assistants should in any case have become worse men. It would be a grievous discouragement unto all who now seek to smooth your path, if they should find only that fresh facilities have been afforded for the work of evil. I will not allow myself to suppose such a result possible. But, knowing the weakness of our common na-

* Cowper's Tirocinium.

ture, the temptations to which all are exposed, and the especial dangers which beset the young, I could not bring this Address to a close, without entreating you, in all sincerity, and with great plainness of speech, to take heed unto them.

You have shown yourselves thus far to be true men. We wish to help you. We ask also the help of others. That they will give it, there can be no doubt. Many a precious token of salutary counsel and kind encouragement shall be yours. Suffer not your friends, therefore, to be placed in that position in which any man can say with truth, that their labour has been spent in vain.

ADDRESS II.

DR. JOHNSON.

It seems quite unnecessary that I should be required to bring forward reasons to prove that the character of DR. JOHNSON is one which possesses the strongest claims upon your attention ; for greatness is stamped indelibly upon it. Indeed, I know not that the literary history of any nation in the world can furnish the example of a writer, who may, in all points, be compared with this our celebrated countryman. Doubtless, there have been many others, who, in the pursuit of knowledge, have had to struggle, as he did, with the cares of poverty, and have achieved renown not inferior to his. Poets also there have been, moralists, biographers, critics, essayists, lexicographers, like him, and superior to him. But, with whichever of these you rank him,—and he may worthily be ranked with each class,—there are, never-

theless, distinctive features in JOHNSON which have always singled him out from all others. And many of those features, we believe, are known in the present day, as perfectly by ourselves as by the generation in which he lived.

It is the consciousness of this fact which has mainly influenced me in my choice of the present subject. I feel that the most cursory glance at its outline and general bearings can scarcely fail to revive some old familiar recollection in the hearts of most of you ; and I would fain avail myself of the help thus afforded to me. You no sooner hear the name of JOHNSON pronounced, than he appears before your mind's eye in actual and living energy. The magic pencil of Reynolds has depicted him in colours which, to this day, are beautiful as they are true. And, whether you gaze upon the breathing canvas of the painter, or those faithful copies of his art which the scarcely less exquisite skill of the engraver has brought within reach of all, you recognize at once the man whose likeness is there pourtrayed. You see always the same big, burly, uncouth figure, with lowering eye, thick lips, and beetling brow, overhung with the bushy and ill-dressed wig ; his dress, a rusty, single-breasted coat, with

its large, loose cuffs, bedecked with huge buttons, hanging about his wrists ; his hands, at one time clutching with eager grasp the book which he is appearing to devour ; or, at another, one of them rests heavily upon his capacious waistcoat ; or else, whilst one hand supports him as he leans back in thought against the old check-covered arm-chair, the fingers of the other still keep their clumsy hold upon the pen which, for a moment, is unemployed, only that it may be driven with a fresh plunge into the coarse inkstand beside him, and speed its flight again across the outspread paper. Such is the outward form of the man whom we propose to contemplate. And then, if you would learn the workings of his inward nature, his temper, his manners, his habits of study and composition, his companions, his conversation, his infirmities, his virtues,—where can you find them exhibited with more real vividness than in the well-known pages of Boswell,—the best of biographers, although the most foolish of men ? Boswell himself, too, was anticipated, you will remember, by Sir John Hawkins, Mrs. Thrale, Dr. Strahan, Mr. Nichols, and Mr. Tyers, who have all given to the world, in different ways, their notices of JOHNSON'S life. Other like notices, both printed and


manuscript, have since been obtained from many different quarters, and are incorporated, together with a large mass of the former materials, into the last,—and, I must add, in spite of the merciless criticisms of Macaulay and Carlyle,—the valuable, edition of Boswell's work, by Mr. Croker. And, if to each of these, you add the not less precious testimony of his own writings, you will have an amount of minute, exact, and varied information, respecting SAMUEL JOHNSON, placed before you, greater than any which the world has ever yet acquired of any one man. Let us examine, then, some of the materials here presented to our view.

Upon the story of his childhood, I need not dwell further than to remind you that he was born at Lichfield, in 1709 ; and that his father was a bookseller and stationer in that city. Of his mother, it ought to be remarked, that she was one of the many who should be held in grateful memory among us, to whose piety and faithful nurturing their children, in after life, have ascribed the strength and duration of their own religious feelings. The early, systematic, and habitual piety of JOHNSON is well known ; and to hear him saying that the formation of his devotional habits was owing to the simple and

affectionate teaching of his mother, when he was a little child in bed ; and that, through the years of his ripened manhood, and even to the evening of his life, he remembered it¹, is a touching proof of the blessing which waits upon a mother's care.

Follow him from his home to school, and you will see how truly, in his case, was made good the saying, which declares that 'the child is father of the man.' His quickness of apprehension, his tenacity of memory, his morbid indolence broken through by the fixed determination to toil, his wonderful supremacy over the minds of others, notwithstanding those physical infirmities which kept him oftentimes aloof from them, and forced him to appear a strange and solitary being,—all these qualities, which distinguished him in after life, the companions of his boyish days tell us, were then manifested in him. And, if you track his progress from school to the University of Oxford, where he entered, at the age of nineteen, (1728,) as a Commoner of Pembroke College, you will find the same energies, the same weaknesses, at work within him. Although his education had neither always been carried on under the best

¹ Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, i. 10. Croker's Ed.



auspices, nor always seconded by his own industry, yet, by the exercise of those intellectual powers which we have just noticed, he entered upon his academical career with a more extensive and varied stock of knowledge than was possessed by most students, and the stores of a sound and graceful scholarship seemed always to be ready at his command. But, I have said, the same weaknesses were then also at work within him. I mean those which arose from the constitutional malady which had afflicted him from his birth, and which then appeared in a most appalling shape ; filling him with deepest melancholy, and shattering the energies of body and mind to such a degree, that, sometimes he had scarce strength enough left to distinguish the hour upon the town-clock. And yet, when the cloud passed away, he could gather up his intellectual powers with such quickness, and apply himself to the consideration of his heavy trials with such fortitude, as to write a state of his case in Latin to his Godfather, a physician in Lichfield, with an acuteness and eloquence which astonished him. Indeed, I know nothing more calculated to excite the deepest sympathies of our nature than to witness the sorrows which thronged around JOHNSON at that time,

and the spirit in which he encountered them: sometimes, trying to cast off the heavy burden by violent bodily exercise, and walking with determined energy from Oxford to Birmingham, and back again; at other times, sitting down and recording among the loose leaves of his Diary, and in Latin, as his custom was, his determination to turn a deaf ear to the siren strains of sloth²; sometimes, giving way to bursts of excitement which his companions mistook for gaiety, but which he knew full well,—and afterwards confessed,—were but the outpourings of the bitterness of soul which then vexed him.

And poverty too, at the same moment, laid its strong hand upon him. His father's means had been always straitened, inasmuch, that, but for the promise of pecuniary help elsewhere,—which help, it appears, was never given,—the son would not have been able even to have entered the University. As it was, the course of his residence was often interrupted; probably, by this cause. He speaks of himself as having been then 'miserably poor.' His very shoes were worn out,

² 'Oct. 1729. *Desidiæ valedixi; syrenis istius cantibus surdam posthac aurem observurus.*' He was then twenty years old. Ib. 44.

so that his feet appeared through them ; and, when some friend placed a new pair one morning at his door, he threw them away with indignation. The climax was at length put to his trials in this respect. His father became insolvent. And, in 1731, JOHNSON was forced to leave the University without having taken a degree.

A few months afterwards, his father died ; leaving a widow, who survived him for many years, and, besides Samuel, a younger son Nathanael, who, after having carried on, for a brief period, in lowliness and obscurity, his father's trade, followed him to the grave.

What was the spirit, then, of SAMUEL JOHNSON, as he stood thus upon the threshold of life, without a profession or influence, and with a widowed mother, hanging, like himself, upon the brink of beggary ? Let the following entry in his Diary, supply the answer :

'1732, Julii 15. *Undecim aureos deposui, quo die quicquid ante matris funus (quod serum sit precor) de paternis bonis sperari licet, viginti scilicet libras accepi. Usque adeo mihi fortuna fingenda est. Interim, ne paupertate vires animi languescant, nec in flagitia egestas abigat, cavendum.*' 'I laid up eleven guineas on this day, when I received twenty pounds, being all that I have reason to hope for out of my father's effects,

previous to the death of my mother; an event which, I pray God, may be very remote. I now therefore see that I must make my own fortune. Meanwhile, let me take care that the powers of my mind be not debilitated by poverty, and that indigence do not force me into any criminal act.'

Where will you find a nobler instance of moral heroism than this? Some of you, perhaps, may call to mind a similar resolution recorded of NELSON, when he was about eighteen years of age, and was returning home from India, as his biographer tells us, with a body broken down by sickness, and spirits which had sunk with his strength. So hopeless, at that time, appeared to him the prospect of rising in his profession, and so insuperable the difficulties which he had to encounter, that he knew not which way to turn for comfort. But, to use his own words, in describing afterwards his feelings at that time,

'After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me, and presented my king and country as my patron. Well, then, I exclaimed, I will be a hero! and, confiding in Providence, I will brave every danger.'

A glorious resolution this!

'Long afterward (adds his biographer), Nelson loved to speak of the feeling of that moment; and

from that time, he often said, a radiant orb was suspended in his mind's eye, which urged him onward to renown.—He always seemed willing to believe, that the sunshine which succeeded bore with it a prophetic glory, and that the light which led him on was "light from heaven³."

Doubtless, the impulse which led the young sailor, in that moment of his bodily weakness, to look up to God's Providence as his guide, and, trusting therein, to brave, gladly and manfully, every trial which the service of his king and country might demand, was one which sprang not from earth but heaven. And when, in later years, that same youth became the commander of England's fleets, and led them on to victory, he was the first, as you well remember, to give the glory of the victory unto that God Whose aid he had invoked, and in Whose Providence he had placed his trust.

But, what I here wish you especially to bear along with you, in your recollection of this passage in the life of Nelson, is the external character of the position in which he was then placed. The open firmament of heaven was above him; the 'deep and dark blue ocean' rolled beneath his feet; the vessel, which bore him upon its surface, was

³ Southey's *Life of Nelson*, c. 1.

wafting him to a happy home ; her graceful spars and outspread canvas were bending to the breeze ; her conquering flag, her watchful crew, her well-ordered decks, her brave and tender-hearted officers⁴, were all before him. Assuredly, these were appliances fitted to quicken and invigorate in young Nelson's heart the impulse that stirred within it. They awakened his sympathies in behalf of all that was generous and true ; impressing upon him at once a sense of the greatness of God's majesty, and of the high destinies of that country to whose service, under God, he was hereafter to be devoted.

But no such outward associations were at hand to sustain the spirit of JOHNSON, as he sat in the chamber of his home at Lichfield. It was the home of mourning, sickness, and poverty. Not a promise of help appeared from any quarter ; not a single pathway, upon which he could fix his foot, and say, that, walking therein, he might hope to find a decent livelihood. The whole prospect was dark and dreary ; yea, dark as were the clouds of that fearful malady which shaded,

⁴ 'He was brought home (says Southey) by Capt. Pigot, in the Dolphin : and had it not been for the attentive and careful kindness of that officer, Nelson would never have lived to reach his native shores.' Ib.

from time to time, the native energies of his mind. And yet, this poor young scholar could sit down and calmly look upon all this, and determine the path of duty which, in the face of such difficulties, he was bound to follow. There was no murmuring, no misgiving. Having counted up the twenty pounds, which then constituted his whole earthly property, he could take from that pittance the sum required for his immediate wants, and, undisturbed by any fear lest he should be left destitute, could patiently lay by the rest. Then, taking up his pen, he could indite, as we have seen, his prayer for the life of his widowed mother, and the words of pious resolution on his own behalf, 'that the powers of' his 'mind' might 'not be debilitated by poverty, and that indigence' might 'not force' him 'into any criminal act.' Again, I ask you, what purer instance of moral heroism can you find than this? The world may measure heroism by the greatness of that fame which walks with the hero in his path of conquest. But, believe me, in the intrepid self-devotion of JOHNSON, at such a moment, and under such circumstances, to the cause of holiness and truth, you have an instance of high-wrought energy, which the noblest of the sons of men

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have not surpassed. It possessed this superiority, because its origin was divine. Although not expressed in the language, it breathed the spirit, of the Word of God. It acknowledged the supremacy, it sought the guidance, it strove to promote the glory, of Him Who can alone "preserve" us "from trouble," and "compass" us "about with songs of deliverance⁵."

And, observe further, the resolution which JOHNSON was thus taught, by Divine grace, to make, he was enabled also to keep. His prayer was granted. 'The powers of' his 'mind,' in very deed, were never 'debilitated by poverty.' His 'indigence' never 'forced' him 'into any criminal act.' What a triumph did he herein achieve over the many and great temptations which surrounded him! He soon found that he had a quick and ready pen. His necessities drove him to the constant use of it. He might have looked for a speedier and larger recompence for his toil, by pandering to the morbid appetite of the public. The fashion of literature prevalent in his day was an additional inducement for him to follow that devious path. A coarseness of sentiment and of expression then

⁵ Ps. xxxii. 8.

passed current with the large mass both of writers and readers in this country, from which nothing but the most circumspect and unbending resolution upon his part could have kept him free. I speak not now of men who, in that as in every other age, were famed only for the skill with which they could convert the most hideous and revolting garbage into their chief intellectual food ; but of others who are still justly ranked and admired as the most distinguished writers of the last century. How few are there among them,—even those the most conspicuous for their grace and elegance of style, and the acknowledged guides of public opinion upon the most important subjects,—in whose pages you do not continually read language which, if now recited in our ears, would raise a blush upon the cheeks of the inexperienced, and stir into action some of the worst passions of our nature! But, from such a reproach, the works of JOHNSON are wholly free ; and, I believe, it would be difficult to quote any other author of his day, who wrote so much, and upon such different subjects, of whom the same can be to the same extent predicated. Yet this, let me again remind you, was the man whose poverty, through the greater part of his life, must have been for ever tempting

him to think that, if he would consent to hold up to ridicule the infirmities of the weak, or flatter by false colouring the vices of the great, or stimulate the imagination and passions of all classes by describing scenes in which lust, vanity, ambition, falsehood, pride, cunning, are displayed warring with each other for the mastery, a safer and easier way to wealth and popular favour might be found. But, as in the morning of his life, he had recorded his earnest hope that 'indigence' might 'not force him into any criminal act,' so, in the strength of that hope, he was enabled to hold fast his integrity. I repeat, his hope was thus steadfast, because it was fixed upon trust in God. Of this there can be no doubt. For, pass on to a later period of his life,—a period, separated from that to which we are now referring, by the space of eighteen years,—and you will find him, when about to enter upon the composition of the Rambler, still acting in the same spirit, and seeking Divine counsel in the following prayer :

' Almighty God, the giver of all good things, without whose help all labour is ineffectual, and without whose grace all wisdom is folly : grant, I beseech Thee, that in this undertaking Thy Holy Spirit may not be withheld from me ; but that I may promote Thy glory,

and the salvation of myself and others : grant this, O Lord, for the sake of Thy Son, JESUS CHRIST. Amen⁶ :

A wearisome and painful course was that which JOHNSON had to travel, throughout the interval of time here spoken of,—from his twenty-third to his forty-first year. We cannot now trace it minutely through all its stages. Suffice it to say that his first occupation was that of usher to a school at Market Bosworth. He went thither on foot, and drudged at his post as long as he could. But, before many months had passed, contempt and ill-treatment of different kinds drove him from it. He attempted more than once the renewal of the same thankless work, seeking not only the mastership, or assistant-mastership, of other schools, but trying also, after his marriage in 1736, to set up a boarding-school upon his own account, at Edial, in Staffordshire. But all these attempts failed. And no marvel. For, whilst the strange and grotesque infirmities of constitutional temperament and of manners, which never ceased to distinguish him, were then conspicuous, and exposed him to the ridicule or misapprehension of all who judged

⁶ Boswell's Life, &c. i. 177.

only according to the outward appearance, the powers of his giant intellect, and his stores of rich and copious learning were unknown⁷.

The abortive issue of the struggles thus made by JOHNSON, as a schoolmaster, for his subsistence, had forced him, during the progress of them, to enter into that field of literary toil from which he afterwards gathered such an abundant harvest. No traces are now to be found of his first efforts in it. They were probably few and unconnected, and confined to the columns of the newspaper upon which its proprietor, Warren, the first established bookseller in Birmingham, was glad to employ him. JOHNSON was at that time (1733) a guest of his friend and

⁷ A remarkable illustration of the supposed unfitness of JOHNSON for the office which he then sought, is to be found in the following extract of a letter to Mr. Walmsley, his friend, who had endeavoured to procure for him the mastership of the school at Solihull in Warwickshire. It is preserved in the records of Pembroke College, and embodied in the last edition of Boswell's *Life*, &c., i. 61.—'All agree that he [Mr. JOHNSON] is an excellent scholar, and upon that account deserves much better than to be schoolmaster of Solihull. But then he has the character of being a very haughty ill-natured gent, and y^t he has such a way of distorting his fface (w^h though he caⁿt help) y^e gent. think it may affect some young ladds; for these two reasons he is not approved on, y^e late master Mr. Crompton's huffing the fface of fees being stil in their memory.'

schoolfellow, Mr. Hector, who followed his profession of a surgeon in that town, and lodged in Warren's house. And to that circumstance was he indebted for the opportunity of thus beginning his career as an author.

And here, let me remark,—for it is a proof not to be passed over of the force of JOHNSON'S character,—that the friendships which he formed with some of the same age with himself as a boy at school, and those which he afterwards acquired, as a youth in his father's house, with others of maturer years, were strong and lasting. He never forfeited them. The boy, for instance, who used to rejoice with others in carrying young JOHNSON in triumph to morning school, was even he who, in his early manhood, thus welcomed JOHNSON to his lodging in Birmingham, and helped to smooth for him the path to literary fame. He not only introduced him, as we have seen, to the bookseller in whose service he was first engaged; but further joined with Warren in proposing him to undertake the translation and abridgment of the Voyage to Abyssinia by Father Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit, and to write a Preface to the work. In that Preface, the characteristics of JOHNSON'S style

may be clearly traced. Its vigorous and manly diction, its elaborate and carefully balanced periods, its choice of hard words, its pleasing rhythm, its epigrammatic terseness,—all these bear witness to the identity of JOHNSON'S hand. The work was produced with the greatest difficulty. Oppressed with bodily languor, he sometimes gave it up altogether. But the friend of his earliest years cheered him onward; writing from his dictation, whilst JOHNSON lay stretched upon his bed, and read the cumbrous volume; and correcting most of the proof sheets, as they passed through the press. To the latest hour of his life, this friendship with Mr Hector continued unbroken. And there was the same endurance of affection in the intimacy between JOHNSON and another who was much his senior, Gilbert Walmsley. It ended upon earth only in the death of one of them. Long after the departure of Walmsley from this world, JOHNSON indulged himself in the remembrance of him whom he had delighted to honour, acknowledging that he was one of the first friends whom literature had procured for him, and hoping that, at least, his gratitude had made him worthy of Walmsley's notice.

I have glanced at these instances as proofs

of the power of JOHNSON'S character which, in the absence of all that is commonly deemed attractive and pleasing to the outward sense, could thus awaken the sympathies of intelligent and good men, and bind them to himself. And, if the working of such sympathies be as a sunbeam breaking in upon a gloomy day,—a refreshment, which we all need, and for which we may all be thankful,—may we not receive this token of its reality in JOHNSON'S case, as a stimulus to keep alive in our own hearts the same influences? And, watching the friends of our boyish days, or those younger than ourselves, who have drawn our regard towards them, shall we not find it our choicest happiness to guide and help them onward in their course?

I have said that the earliest efforts of JOHNSON as an author began, during the progress of the struggles which he made so ineffectually in his vocation as a schoolmaster; and that his last fruitless attempt to establish a school was renewed soon after his marriage. He might indeed have regarded his marriage as a means of facilitating the success of that scheme; and, on that account, ventured upon a step which, in the midst of his own dark prospects, could hardly

have been accounted prudent. Mrs. Porter, whom he married, was the widow of a mercer at Birmingham, with whom he had become acquainted during his residence in that town. She was more than twenty years older than himself, and possessed neither beauty nor fortune. The grounds, however, of JOHNSON's attachment to her were superior to the attractions which the world prizes so highly, and were proved, by the event, to be just. Their wedded life, during the sixteen years through which it lasted, was, notwithstanding the statements of Sir John Hawkins, a life of mutual confidence and happiness*. The sorrow of JOHNSON at his wife's death was intense. And, for more than thirty years afterwards, until his own earthly course was ended, he cherished her memory with the most grateful and undeviating affection.

Let us now track his progress through those years. Compelled to seek, by the employment of his pen, the support denied to him from other quarters, he betakes himself, in his twenty-ninth year, to London, as offering the fairest hope of reward for his future labour. The companion of his journey is David Garrick, who had been his pupil.

* Ib. i. 140, note by the last Editor.

Among all the inhabitants of the great city, he knows not a single friend who is prepared to bid him welcome. The only persons, whom he can venture even to approach from a distance, are a clergyman and a bookseller, to whom his friend, Mr. Walmsley, introduces him by letters. But from neither of them receives he any help. He carries with him his half-finished tragedy of Irene. He would be glad, says Mr. Walmsley, 'to get himself employed in some translation, either from the Latin or the French.' But where is he to find employment? Or what shall be the value of the pay, which he receives for it? Verily, that worthy publisher must have felt a genuine compassion for JOHNSON, who then looking attentively upon his brawny limbs, and, being told that it was his intention to gain his bread as an author, replied, 'You had better buy a porter's knot.'

The young man is stedfast to his purpose. He remembers the resolution, which he wrote in his chamber at Lichfield; and receives strength to keep it unbroken. He lives, of necessity, but cheerfully, upon the scantiest fare, and in the meanest lodging, whilst he seeks for, and works up, the materials of literary toil. For the first few months, he is alone; and his wife tarries behind in his native

city. Afterwards, sharing with her, and in her society, such means of subsistence as he can gather, he drudges on. He craves employment, and not in vain, from Cave, the well-known editor and publisher of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; a work, which continues to be carried on to this day, and still bears upon its cover the engraving of St. John's Gate, where it was first printed.

Of the mass of miscellaneous articles, furnished for several years by JOHNSON for that periodical,—translations, poems in Latin and English, biographies, literary criticisms, essays on historical, political, and moral subjects,—it is impossible to give any detailed account. Suffice it to say, that most of them may still be recognized as witnesses of his skill and power. Above all, that wondrous specimen of both deserves to be remembered, which is exhibited in his account of the Debates in both Houses of Parliament, under the name of 'The Senate of Lilliput.' Of the perfection to which the art of reporting, in all its branches, is brought in the present day, and the vast amount of benefit conferred thereby upon the public, I need not here speak. You all know its excellence and use. But, in JOHNSON's time, it was not so. The liberty to attend and report the proceedings

of Parliament did not then exist; and it was only the statement of what members of an imaginary Senate might be supposed to have said, and not the relation of what the members of a British Parliament actually did say, which could give to those out of doors any notion of the arguments which might arise in the progress of debate. JOHNSON was unacquainted with the form and manner of debate. He had never been in the gallery of the House of Commons but once in his life. Cave, and the persons whom he employed, through their interest with the door-keepers, gained admittance; and, from the information which they brought to him of the subject under discussion, and of the names and arguments of the speakers on different sides, he composed, in his garret in Exeter Street, the speeches in the form in which they now exist; assigning to Newcastle, and Carteret, and Hervey, in the one House, and to Walpole, and Pitt, and Pulteney, in the other, the arguments and sentiments which each were supposed to urge, and clothing them, as he best could, in the language appropriate to each. The praises, which he heard, some years afterwards, bestowed upon one of these speeches which Pitt was supposed to have spoken, revealed the secret, that JOHNSON

himself had written it. And no more remarkable proof perhaps can be found of the wonderful success with which this department of his labours was conducted. It may be observed also, as further evidence of his great mental powers, that he wrote these speeches with a rapidity greater even than that which most persons could have used in transcribing them ;—three columns of the magazine in an hour being no uncommon effort. One point more I must glance at, in connection with this subject, for it illustrates the singular truthfulness and sterling honesty of his character, that, although, when he first agreed to work the machinery of his Lilliputian Senate, ‘he had (to use his own words) no conception that he was imposing upon the world,’ yet, feeling afterwards, that it was a trick which might mislead and deceive many, he gave up the work. Ashamed to find that any should have mistaken fictions for realities, he resolved that the delusion should exist no longer. Hearing that Smollett was engaged in writing a history of that time, he cautioned him not to regard, as genuine expressions of other men’s opinions, the speeches which had often been the fruit of his own imagination only. He declared that ‘he would not be accessory to the pro-

pagation of falsehood ;' and, when he lay upon his dying bed, confessed, 'that the Parliamentary Debates were the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction.'

Trace we not here the spirit of the poor scholar of Lichfield, nobly resolute for the truth in death, as in life ?

Turn back now, for a moment, from St. John's Gate, and mount the steep stairs of his garret, and you will find, that, whilst JOHNSON was thus supplying Cave with lines contracted for by the hundred, and exacted always to the utmost measure, he produced other works, and was meditating more. His Poem of 'London,' for instance, in imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal, appeared in 1738, the year after he came a stranger to the metropolis. With diffidence and modesty, he had sought the counsel of those whose aid was necessary to publish it ; and with thankfulness had received the ten guineas which Dodsley gave for it. But the mark of public favour was quickly and justly stamped upon the Poem ; and succeeding years, renewing the impression, have fixed it for evermore. The English Satirist is immortal as his Roman master.

And then, after six years or more of anxious

care had passed over his head,—each of them illustrating that truth to which, in his *Satire*, he had given such emphatic utterance,

‘Slow rises worth, by poverty depress’d,’

he publishes another work, which, like his ‘*London*,’ attracted at once, and has secured ever since, the admiration and interest of all readers. It was the *Life of Richard Savage*, the reputed child of infamy, the poet, the ungrateful profligate. The poverty of *Savage* had been the consequence of a vicious life. That of *JOHNSON* was the pathway, along which he strenuously walked on to good. Seeking from the same quarter relief for their common distress, they meet together as visitors at *St. John’s Gate*. They leave it, and wander in company with each other about the streets, sometimes through the live-long night, unable to pay for the poorest lodging. The secrets of the life of *Savage* are then poured into the ear of his companion, who pitied even where he could not approve. The intimacy lasts not long; for *Savage* dies in prison. And *JOHNSON*, seeking to preserve his memory from the insults and calumnies which, he knew, were ready to be heaped upon it, announces to *Cave* his intention to publish the eventful story of his life. Not

that he will suffer his friendship with Savage to do violence to the truth. On the contrary, he distinctly reiterates the note of warning, which the example of his lost companion had sounded forth. 'This relation,' he states in the concluding sentence of his narrative,

'will not be wholly without its use, if those, who languish under any part of his sufferings, shall be enabled to fortify their patience, by reflecting that they feel only those afflictions from which the abilities of Savage did not exempt him ; or those, who, in confidence of superior attainments, disregard the common maxims of life, shall be reminded that nothing will supply the want of prudence ; and that negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible.'

With the desire to realize and enforce these lessons, he applies himself eagerly to his work, continues writing all night, and, in the morning, sends to the press materials to fill forty-eight printed pages of an octavo pamphlet. The work, when completed, ran through more than a hundred pages, and riveted the attention of every reader. A well-known instance of its engrossing power is that recorded of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, —when he had taken up the book to read it, not knowing who the author was,—stirred not from the position in which he stood, with

his arm leaning against the chimney-piece, until he had finished its perusal⁹.

But the writer, who could thus enchain the minds of accomplished, and intelligent, and discerning men, was still at war with poverty. Cave, his publisher, might receive the guests who came to dine with him, and praises might be, and were, bestowed upon the work that had just issued from JOHNSON'S pen. But, behind a screen, in that same room, was hidden JOHNSON himself, restrained by the shabbiness of his dress from venturing one step beyond it, and content to eat in secret the food sent to him from the table at which others sat unconscious of his presence.

Again, look onward a few years, and you find him still worn with the same toil. Prefaces and Dedications, written for the works of others,—Observations of his own upon the Tragedy of Macbeth,—a mass of further contributions furnished for the columns of the Gentleman's Magazine,—the imitation of another, the Tenth, Satire of Juvenal¹, in

⁹ Ib. 142.

¹ He received from Dodsley fifteen guineas for this Poem, reserving to himself the right of printing one edition.

which he depicted the 'Vanity of Human Wishes' with a vividness and truth of colouring not second even to that exhibited by the Roman Satirist himself, and which gained for him a renewal of that prompt and hearty admiration, which welcomed his former Poem of 'London,'—then, the completion, and introduction upon the stage, of his tragedy of Irene, which had so long engaged his thoughts,—then, fresh Biographies,—then, the publication of his Rambler, begun in that spirit of holy resolution to which I have already adverted², and carried on, even to the end, in the same spirit. The work itself contains in every page proof incontrovertible of this fact; and hence, when he wrote its concluding paper, he was enabled, not in any boastful or vain-glorious spirit, but in simple conviction of the truth, to write its last paragraph thus:

'The Essays, professedly serious, if I have been able to execute my intentions, will be found exactly conformable to the precepts of Christianity, without any accommodation to the licentiousness and levity of the present age. I therefore look back on this part of my work with pleasure, which no blame or praise of man shall diminish or augment. I shall never envy the honours which wit and learning obtain in any

² See p. 58.

other cause, if I can be numbered among the writers who have given ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth.'

The Rambler was completed in two years, during the whole of which period JOHNSON received help only in four instances³. The remaining papers were supplied entirely from his own resources, and published, without a single interruption, upon the Tuesday and Saturday of every week. The disadvantages, incident to this particular class of composition, make the uninterrupted and vigorous continuance of it by one man, at the rate of two papers a week, for more than a hundred weeks together, whilst occupied with other works, a truly astonishing effort. JOHNSON has well described these disadvantages, in the last paper of the Rambler, where he says,

'He that condemns himself to compose on a stated day, will often bring to his task an attention dissipated, a memory embarrassed, an imagination overwhelmed, a mind distracted with anxieties, a body languishing with disease ; he will labour on a barren topic, till it is too late to change it ; or, in the ardour of invention,

³ It is stated by Chalmers, in his Preface to the Rambler, in the edition of the British Essayists, that Payne, its original publisher, most liberally agreed to pay JOHNSON two guineas for each paper, or four guineas per week ; and admitted him to a share of the future profits of the work, when it should be collected into volumes.

diffuse his thoughts into wild exuberance, which the pressing hour of publication cannot suffer judgment to examine or reduce.'

Besides the works above mentioned, JOHNSON furnished, for the *Adventurer*, during this period, the papers marked T, and some also, it is supposed, for other publications, of which the traces are now lost. But, numerous and diverse as were the writings which thus flowed from his pen, in the eleven years that elapsed after the publication of his *Life of Savage*, there was one more important than them all, which still remains to be noticed. For, within the same period, he entered upon and completed that great work, with which his name will be for ever associated, the *English Dictionary*. In 1747, its prospectus appeared. In 1755, the publication of the whole work was finished.

And who can describe, more forcibly than JOHNSON has done himself, the difficulties which compassed him about in the execution of it? They were difficulties which arose, partly, out of the work itself; partly, out of his own straitened position. The former, he justly describes in the Preface to his Dictionary, when he says, that it was an attempt to give 'longevity to that which its own nature forbids to be immortal;'

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moment of need, for that which yesterday he knew with intuitive readiness, and which will come uncalled into his thoughts to-morrow.'

And yet, another claim had JOHNSON to the kind consideration of his readers. Independently of the difficulties inherent in the work itself, he had been forced to encounter others which arose from his own straitened position.

'The English Dictionary,' he reminds us, 'was written with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academick bowers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow.'

It was even so, as JOHNSON here states it. He had a right to look for 'assistance of the learned;' but, except a paper containing twenty etymologies, which Pearce, Bishop of Rochester, sent to him, without disclosing his name, he received none. He had a right also to look for the 'patronage of the great;' since it was only through such patronage, that English authors, in the age immediately preceding his own, had been enabled to bring their works into public notice⁴. Nor was there any thing unjust or

⁴ See the remarkable list furnished in Macaulay's *Essays*, i. 382.

unworthy in such a relation, regarded only in itself. On the contrary, the observation, which has been made respecting it, is expressed with not less truth than eloquence:

‘That in an age, when a Nobleman was still noble, still with his wealth the protector of worthy and humane things, and still venerated as such, a poor Man of Genius, his brother in nobleness, should, with unfeigned reverence, address him, and say: “I have found Wisdom here, and would fain proclaim it abroad; wilt thou, of thy abundance, afford the means?”—in all this there was no baseness; it was wholly an honest proposal, which a free man might make, and a free man listen to⁵.’

Such was the spirit of the proposal which JOHNSON made to Lord Chesterfield, when, at the request of Dodsley, he drew up and sent the ‘Plan’ of his Dictionary to that nobleman. That the ‘Plan’ was not obtruded upon the notice of his lordship unasked, but sent in consequence of some distinct communications received from him upon the subject, which proved that he was not only cognizant of, but favoured, the design, is quite clear from the following allusions which JOHNSON makes, in the course of his prospectus, to the avowed opinions of Chesterfield:

⁵ Carlyle’s *Miscellanies*, iv. 70.

‘ With regard to questions of purity or propriety, I was once in doubt whether I should not attribute myself too much in attempting to decide them,—but I have been since determined, *by your lordship’s opinion*, to interpose my own judgment.’

And, again,

‘ I hope, my lord, that since *you*, whose authority in our language is so generally acknowledged, *have commissioned me* to declare my opinion, I shall be considered as exercising a vicarious jurisdiction ; and that the power which might have been denied to my own claim, will be readily allowed me *as the delegate of your lordship*.’

It is impossible, therefore, to deny that JOHNSON had been directly invited to look up to a patron, who, as a nobleman and minister of the Crown, and distinguished in the republic of letters, might have done him the most essential service in his undertaking. Let us see then how far his hopes were realized. It is the province and privilege of a patron to cheer, by the expression of his sympathy and kindly counsel, the man whom he professes to uphold. But to wait unnoticed in the ‘outward rooms, or be repulsed from the door⁶’ of the great man’s

⁶ This is the assertion of JOHNSON in his letter to Chesterfield, i: 249. The allusion which he makes, in a former paragraph, to the courteous reception which he had once experienced at the hands of his lordship, obviously refers

house, was all that JOHNSON knew of a patron's sympathy. Again, if money be required for a lawful and needful object, on the part of him whom he avows himself ready to befriend,—an object, with the promotion of which he allows his own name to be openly identified,—it is the province and privilege of a patron to give of his own abundance to assist in the attainment of it. But the sum of ten pounds sent once, during the long space of seven years, by him who had vouchsafed publicly to countenance a work which it required that period to complete, was all that JOHNSON knew of a patron's bounty⁷. Once more, it is the province and

to a visit prior to, or immediately after, the dedication of his 'Plan;' and the recollection of that solitary act of kindness must have made the subsequent neglect more painful to the mind of JOHNSON. I call attention to this fact, because it may serve to defend him from the censure which Lord Brougham, in his 'Lives of Men of Letters,' &c., ii. 29, has directed against that part of his letter.

⁷ There is no evidence to show when, or for what precise object, this sum was sent by Lord Chesterfield. Certain it is that JOHNSON expressly authorized Langton to state that it had been sent; and so far his truthfulness remains unimpeached. With respect to the reason, which JOHNSON is said to have given, for not acknowledging the gift in his letter, it is much more consistent with truth to believe that the report of it, as supplied by Langton and recorded by Boswell, is incorrect, than that such a reason could ever have been deemed satisfactory by JOHNSON himself.

privilege of a patron, when the work towards which his assistance has been sought is ended, to propitiate, in a generous and frank spirit, the interest of others in its behalf, and lead them to estimate aright the labour bestowed upon it. Where the former evidences of a beneficent and kindly spirit have been exhibited, this must also appear as their necessary and inseparable result. Where they are wanting, the demonstration of this latter may be something worse than vanity. It was so in the present instance. JOHNSON, who had brought his great work to the verge of publication, without any extrinsic aid, was now told, by the proprietor of 'The World,' that his patron had, in two of its successive papers, strongly recommended it to the public. He writes to him at once, and says,

'Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and,

Mr. Croker would fain make it appear that the gift of Lord Chesterfield was after all not so contemptible; that it was as much as JOHNSON had received for his poem of London, and for his revision of a work of Dr. Madden; and that, in the latter case, JOHNSON acknowledges the remuneration as generous. But there is the widest possible difference between the instances here alleged. Neither the character of the works themselves, nor the time occupied in their completion, nor the position of the parties by whom the assistance was given, can bear comparison for a moment.

when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity, not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the publick should consider me as owing that to a patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.

There are those who regard the feelings to which JOHNSON here gave utterance as the mere explosion of his pride, and reckon this letter 'among the outrages committed by the irritability of the literary temperament'. But, I think, unjustly. The truth is, it was dictated by his hatred of all trick and false pretensions; by his conviction that the loftiness of rank and extent of influence, which enabled any man to assume the office of patron, involved duties as well as rights; and by the accumulated proof which weeks, and months, and years, of ceaseless care had forced upon him, that those duties had been grossly violated in the person of that patron who now came forward to cumber him with help. Doubtless, an acute sense of his own wrongs gave point to the sarcasm, and bitter-

^a Lord Brougham's Men of Letters, &c., ii. 28.

ness to the indignation with which JOHNSON here heaped rebuke upon his mock patron. And, on this account, I freely admit, they who cherish with deepest affection the memory of this great man, will not act justly or wisely, if they rest their chief admiration of him upon this letter, celebrated as it is. They will ascribe its composition indeed only to the working of a righteous motive. But, —remembering that JOHNSON himself, in a later day, was anxious that it should not be noised abroad, or be made the subject of general comment^o, —they will infer a consciousness on the part of its author, that he had dealt about his blows with overmuch severity; or, if not this, that at least he would not choose, without the recurrence of a stern and unavoidable necessity, to revive the pain of wounded feelings in the breasts of others or his own.

It is a subject of some interest to observe the different ways in which this sense of a patron's misconduct had operated upon the mind of JOHNSON; how hot his heart had been within him, and how long and painfully he had been musing, before the fire kindled into the form of action which has just been

^o Boswell's Life, &c., i. 248.

noticed. For instance, the composition of the second volume of his Dictionary was begun in 1753, six years after the dedication of his 'Plan' to Lord Chesterfield; and you will find one of the explanations given therein of the word *patron* as follows:

'One who countenances, supports, or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery.'

Again, his Poem, 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,' appeared two years after the dedication of his 'Plan;' and, in describing the miserable disappointments of literary enterprise, these two lines had occurred in the first edition,

'There mark what ills a scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the *garret*, and the gaol.'

But the last line was soon altered; and, in all the later editions, it stands thus,

'Toil, envy, want, *the patron*, and the gaol¹.'

It was clearly therefore no temporary ebullition of feeling, by which JOHNSON was carried

¹ It is related that JOHNSON, reading some years afterwards in Mr. Thrall's house, the picture he had here drawn of trials of which he himself had known the bitterness, was so overcome by it as to burst into tears. *Ib.* 169.

away; but a deep conviction, that the whole system of literary patronage, practised in that day, was a gross sham, and that it was his duty, come what might, to crush it. And he did crush it.

The only other channel which could be found, through which the sons of genius and of toil could then communicate their thoughts and their researches to the world, was that now opened unto JOHNSON, namely, the honest and zealous co-operation of intelligent booksellers and publishers. The agreement was made by five houses, existing in that department of the trade in that day², that JOHNSON should undertake the work (as described in his 'Plan') upon his own and undivided responsibility, and receive the remuneration of £1575. The sole ground upon which this trust was reposed in him, was the character which, it was known, he possessed; and he maintained it right nobly. He set to work with a bold and undaunted spirit; and no words perhaps can be found to describe more forcibly the aspirations which he had formed, and the disappointments which he underwent, than those which he has employed in his Preface.

² The name of one of these still lives in that of the distinguished firm of Longman.

‘When first I engaged in this work, I resolved to leave neither words nor things unexamined, and pleased myself with a prospect of the hours which I should revel away in feasts of literature, the obscure recesses of northern learning which I should enter and ransack, the treasures with which I expected every search into those neglected mines to reward my labour, and the triumph with which I should display my acquisitions to mankind. When I had thus enquired into the original of words, I resolved to show likewise my attention to things; to pierce deep into every science, to enquire the nature of every substance of which I inserted the name, to limit every idea by a definition strictly logical, and exhibit every production of art or nature in an accurate description, that my book might be in place of all other dictionaries whether appellative or technical. But these were the dreams of a poet doomed at last to wake a lexicographer. I soon found that it is too late to look for instruments, when the work calls for execution, and that whatever abilities I had brought to my task, with these I must finally perform it. To deliberate whenever I doubted, to enquire whenever I was ignorant, would have protracted the undertaking without end, and, perhaps, without much improvement; for I did not find by my first experiments, that what I had not of my own was easily to be obtained: I saw that one enquiry only gave occasion to another, that book referred to book, that to search was not always to find, and to find was not always to be informed; and that to pursue perfection, was, like the first inhabitants of Arcadia, to chase the sun, which, when he had reached the hill where he seemed to rest, was still beheld at the same distance from them.’

Thus was JOHNSON compelled to bring

down to a lower level the high imaginations which he had once so fondly cherished, and to work, as he best could, with the materials that were at hand. He employed six men to copy out what he had prepared for them ; and, in the garrets of his lodgings which he occupied, first, in Holborn, and, afterwards, in Gough Square, they carried on their task. And, here let it be remarked, that JOHNSON treated these assistants always with the utmost kindness; not using them merely as tools, to be employed for a season in his service, and then to be thrown aside, and forgotten ; but regarding them as fellow-labourers with himself in a great work, and exhibiting towards them, both then and afterwards, a spirit of honest and hearty sympathy. Some of them were engaged in literary undertakings on their own account; some were sick and weakly in body; all were poor. And in JOHNSON they all found a friend. He wrote for those to whom the service of his pen was useful; he visited those who were in sickness; yea, even out of his penury, he found means to alleviate the yet more pinching agony of their distress.

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intersections,' he would of course be utterly puzzled to know what I meant; and the very last thing, probably, to which he could suppose such strange gibberish had reference, would be the nets which he is stowing away in his boat. And yet these are the definitions, which JOHNSON has given in his Dictionary, of *net* and *network*. I do not pretend to say that it would not be possible to give a definition of these words, which shall be as accurate, and not so hard of comprehension as that which is here employed. Nevertheless, JOHNSON'S statement of the real difficulty cannot be got rid of. If *net* and *network* be the easiest words to express the objects which they severally denote, you shall try as long as you may, and yet not find it possible to translate them 'into one more easy.'

Again, there are many words, and JOHNSON has enumerated some of them,

'of which (he says) the signification is so loose and general, the use so vague and indeterminate, and the senses detorted so widely from the first idea, that it is hard to interpret them by any words of distinct and settled meaning.—These words are hourly shifting their relations, and can no more be ascertained in a dictionary, than a grove, in the agitation of a storm, can be accurately delineated from its picture in the water.'

In many instances, indeed, the etymology or the explanation which JOHNSON failed to discover, has been ascertained by the labours of succeeding lexicographers. But still his work,—enriched and strengthened as it has been by the researches of its last learned editor, the late Archdeacon Todd,—has never been, and is not likely to be, superseded.

One feature of it there is, which, before I pass on to other subjects, I wish, for one moment, to notice; namely, the felicity with which JOHNSON has cited, from different authors, the authority for his explanations of words. To say with Boswell, ‘that he has quoted no author whose writings had a tendency to hurt sound religion and morality,’ is but faint praise. The truth is, that he has supplied us, in well nigh every instance, with the best passages from the best authors. His original design led him to this result.

‘When I first collected these authorities,’ he says, ‘I was desirous that every quotation should be useful to some other end than the illustration of a word; I therefore extracted from philosophers principles of science; from historians remarkable facts; from chymists complete processes; from divines striking exhortations; and from poets beautiful descriptions. Such is design, while it is yet at a distance from execution. When the time called upon me to range this accumulation of elegance and wisdom into an alpha-

betical series, I soon discovered that the bulk of my volumes would fright away the student, and was forced to depart from my scheme of including all that was pleasing or useful in English literature, and reduce my transcripts very often to clusters of words, in which scarcely any meaning is retained; thus to the weariness of copying, I was condemned to add the vexation of expunging. Some passages I have yet spared, which may relieve the labour of verbal searches, and interpose with verdure and flowers the dusty desarts of barren philology.'

He speaks here most truly. He has indeed overspread the dusty desert with verdure and flowers. To whatsoever column you direct your attention, whether you seek for the explanation of words pertaining to theology, morals, philosophy, history, poetry, or common life, you can scarcely fail to find some passage from Hooker, or Bacon, or Boyle, or Locke, or Shakspeare, or Spenser, or Milton, or South, or Barrow, which shall not only strike you by its appositeness as an illustration of the word in question, but present to your view some attractive merit of its own, fitted to draw you onward to a closer examination of the context from which it came. Nay, some of these passages, these reduced 'clusters of words,' as JOHNSON describes them, possess such intrinsic force and beauty, as to secure, in spite of all the

disadvantages of their truncated form, an end far higher than the mere illustration of a word. They drop into the heart some precious truth, which, if the soil be not wholly uncongenial, must spring up and bear fruit after its own kind. If you ask me for an instance of this, I will give you the authorities which he quotes in support of his second explanation of the word *hollowness*, namely, 'deceit, insincerity, treachery.' I take this word, because it is not of very frequent recurrence, and the range of authorities, therefore, must have been more limited. The passages cited are two. The first, from Shakspeare's *King Lear*, would have sufficed as an apposite illustration of the word. But the second, whilst it serves that end not less forcibly, enshrines it in a sentence which, for the profound wisdom of the truth which it declares, the singular force and propriety of its separate clauses, and the harmonious structure of the whole, can scarcely, I think, be surpassed by any in the whole compass of the English language. The sentence occurs in the opening paragraph of a Sermon of South, and is as follows :

' People, young and raw, and soft-natured, think it an easy thing to gain love, and reckon their own friendship a sure price of any man's : but when expe-

rience shall have shewn them the hardness of most hearts, the *hollowness* of others, and the baseness and ingratitude of almost all, they will then find that a friend is the gift of God, and that he only who made hearts can unite them.'

But let us hasten onward. Not even the verdure and flowers which have been spread over the barren deserts of philology, may tempt us to tarry longer.

The path which JOHNSON had yet to traverse was not less rough and steep than it had been in former years ; and he was left to climb it alone. His wife was no longer by his side to cheer and comfort him. She had died, about three years before the publication of his Dictionary ; and both his Letter to Lord Chesterfield, and the conclusion of his Preface, exhibit touching evidences of his grief. To the former, you will remember, he had said,

'The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours,—has been delayed, till I am solitary, and cannot impart it.'

And, in the latter, his words are,

'I may surely be contented without the praise of perfection, which, if I could obtain, in this gloom of solitude, what would it avail me? I have protracted the work, till most of those whom I wished to please have sunk into the grave.'

In that gloom of solitude, moreover, poverty had not ceased to haunt him. The sum, which the booksellers had agreed to give him for his Dictionary, was exhausted, for some time before its publication, by payments to his copyists, and other expenses. And, that the resources then left at his disposal were oftentimes insufficient to provide for the day that was passing over him, is painfully evident from the fact, that, in the year after the completion of that work, we find him compelled to resort to Richardson, the celebrated novelist, twice within two months, for the means of relieving him from arrest for a small debt. We learn, indeed, from the same sources of information, that JOHNSON promptly repaid the sums so advanced; but the mere statement of such facts proves the severity of the struggle that was going on.

And, now, observe the spirit which sustained him in the struggle, and enabled him at the last to triumph. It was even that self-same spirit whose workings we watched within him before he left his native city. 'Indigence' did 'not force' him 'into any criminal act,' neither were 'the powers of' his 'mind debilitated;' because now, in the days of his matured, as in those of his early,

manhood, the secret of his strength was still the same. Witness the following scheme which he drew out in his Journal, with respect to the future employment of the Lord's Day.

'Having lived,' as he acknowledges, 'not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath, yet without that attention to its religious duties which Christianity requires,'

he proposes to himself these resolutions ;

- '1. To rise early, and in order to it, to go to sleep early on Saturday.
2. To use some extraordinary devotion in the evening.
3. To examine the tenour of my life, and particularly the last week ; and to mark my advances in religion, or recession from it.
4. To read the Scripture methodically with such helps as are at hand.
5. To go to Church twice.
6. To read books of Divinity, either speculative or practical.
7. To instruct my family.
8. To wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted in the week.'

These resolutions, be it remembered, were formed and recorded by JOHNSON a very few months after that distressing conflict for life and liberty in which he had invoked the aid of

Richardson³. So that, in the hour of his deepest outward humiliation, he was enabled to keep hold upon the loftiest and most ennobling truth. And it was this stedfast apprehension of truth which imparted to him fresh energy. Boswell has justly remarked that JOHNSON 'never gave better proofs of the force, acuteness, and vivacity of his mind, than in the original essays and reviews,' which he contributed to the 'Literary Magazine,' a periodical, of which he took the superintendence at this time. It is impossible here even to enumerate the many articles furnished by him for that work. Yet I cannot forbear glancing, as we pass, at one of them, namely, his 'Review of a Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil.' The work in question had been composed by Soame Jenyns,—a writer, of whom only to name his other treatise upon 'The Internal Evidence of Christianity,' is to prove the greatness of the obligation conferred by him upon the whole Christian world. The deeper therefore must be our regret at finding such a man the author of a book which JOHNSON

³ His two notes to Richardson are dated in February and March, 1756. The above entry in his Journal is dated in the following July. Boswell's Life, &c., i. 287—290.

has described in no exaggerated terms, when he declares that

‘ Much of it has no other use than to perplex the scrupulous, and to shake the weak, to encourage impious presumption, or stimulate idle curiosity.’

These evils JOHNSON aims to obviate in his Review of the work ; and attains his aim, by urging a course of argument which, for the closeness of its application and the keenness of its irony, is incomparable. Its severity, indeed, is great ; some, possibly, may think, unduly great. But, before you admit the justice of such a censure, look, I pray you, to the sacredness of the cause which JOHNSON sought to defend, and the rashness with which Jenyns had ventured to tamper with it ; and then say if there were not abundant cause for the infliction of the critic’s lash.

In addition to these many productions of JOHNSON’S pen,—of which I have, for an instant, directed your attention to the most distinguished,—there were others, claiming a brief notice, which occupied him during the same period. I mean not merely those whereby he supplied, as formerly, authors with prefaces, and, in some few instances,—to the discredit, it must be confessed, of

those who sought such assistance,—even clergymen with sermons; but works, which still remain permanently and honourably associated with his name. Thus, in the four years after that in which his Dictionary was published,—from 1756 to 1759 inclusive,—appeared, first, his proposals for an edition of Shakspeare; next, his *Idler*; and, last of all, his *Rasselas*. The first of these, although occupying of course many portions of his time throughout the interval, was not completed until after the lapse of nine years. He had held out indeed to the public the hope that it should appear within little more than a year after the appearance of his proposals. But it was a work not suited to his train of thought or study; his heart was never in it; and, had it not been for the taunts of the malignant satirist, and the exertions of his friends, urging him to its completion, it is doubtful whether it ever would have seen the light. This circumstance may account for the disappointment which, I suppose, has been felt by every reader of JOHNSON'S remarks upon Shakspeare. But his Preface to the edition redeems it from insignificance. It is in every respect worthy of its great subject; and higher praise cannot be given. The argu-

ment, by which he makes good his vindication of Shakspeare, from the charge of having violated the dramatic unities of time and place, are urged with a clearness and vigour which few writers but himself could have displayed. He proves that such a charge, resting, as it avowedly does, upon 'the supposed necessity of making the drama credible,' rests upon a foundation which does not really exist; that, while the 'breath' of the accuser

'is forming it into words, his understanding pronounces it to be false. It is false, that any representation is mistaken for reality; that any dramatick fable in its materiality was ever credible, or, for a single moment, was ever credited. The objection arising from the impossibility of passing the first hour at Alexandria, and the next at Rome, supposes, that, when the play opens, the spectator really imagines himself at Alexandria, and believes that his walk to the theatre has been a voyage to Egypt, and that he lives in the days of Antony and Cleopatra. Surely, he that imagines this may imagine more. He that can take the stage, at one time, for the palace of the Ptolemies, may take it in half an hour for the promontory of Actium. Delusion, if delusion be permitted, has no certain limitation.'

Again,

'By supposition, as place is introduced, time may be extended.—If, in the first Act, preparations for war

against Mithridates are represented to be made in Rome, the event of the war may, without absurdity, be represented, in the catastrophe, as happening in Pontus ; we know that there is neither war, nor preparation for war; we know that we are neither in Rome nor Pontus; that neither Mithridates nor Lucullus are before us. The drama exhibits successive imitations of successive actions; and why may not the second imitation represent an action that happened years after the first; if it be so connected with it, that nothing but time can be supposed to intervene? Time is, of all modes of existence, most obsequious to the imagination; a lapse of years is as easily conceived as a passage of hours. In contemplation we easily contract the time of real actions, and therefore willingly permit it to be contracted when we only see their imitation.'

Although JOHNSON thus urged arguments not easy to be overthrown, yet he knew that he was vindicating the transgression of rules which, from the days of Aristotle downward, had been held well nigh sacred. With unaffected modesty, therefore, and with a felicity of classical allusion well befitting his subject, he remarks,

'Perhaps, what I have here not dogmatically but deliberately written, may recall the principles of the drama to a new examination. I am almost frightened at my own temerity; and, when I estimate the fame and the strength of those that maintain the contrary opinion, am ready to sink down in reverential silence; as Æneas withdrew from the defence of Troy, when he

saw Neptune shaking the wall, and Juno heading the besiegers.'

Believing that there were many, whom his arguments could not persuade 'to give their approbation to the judgment of Shakspeare,' JOHNSON next entreats them to consider the lowly condition of his life, which he hopes might easily induce them to 'make some allowance for his ignorance.' And here, he has given a description of Shakspeare rising into eminence, in spite of every disadvantage, which might, with not less truth, have been predicated of himself.

'Shakspeare,' he says, 'came to London a needy adventurer, and lived for a time by very mean employments. Many works of genius and learning have been performed in states of life that appear very little favourable to thought or to enquiry ; so many, that he who considers them is inclined to think that he sees enterprize and perseverance predominating over all external agency, and bidding help and hindrance vanish before them. The genius of Shakspeare was not to be depressed by the weight of poverty, nor limited by the narrow conversation to which men in want are inevitably condemned ; the incumbrances of his fortune were shaken from his mind, *as dew drops from a lion's mane.*'

Of the work next mentioned, the Idler, there is no time to say more than that, al-

though much shorter, it resembles the Rambler in its general character and form. Its publication indeed lasted for an equal period of two years, from April 1758 to April 1760 ; but it appeared only once, instead of twice, a week. Twelve out of its hundred and three papers were contributed by other hands. The rest were the productions of JOHNSON alone ; and in them he sustained, with firmness and dignity, his high and noble office of Christian moralist and philosopher.

The last-named work, his *Rasselas*, lives in the remembrance of every one that has read it ; and they must be few indeed to whom its pages are unknown. The circumstances also under which it was composed can hardly be less familiarly known to most of you. All who have the slightest acquaintance with the history of JOHNSON, will recollect that it was written soon after his mother's death, with the immediate object of defraying the expenses of her funeral, and liquidating the few debts due upon her account⁴. According to the statement of

⁴ Murphy states that the remuneration which JOHNSON received for the book enabled him to go down to Lichfield, and attend his mother's funeral. But his letters written at that time clearly show that he had it not in his power to attend ; and *Rasselas* was not composed until two months

JOHNSON himself to Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'he composed it in the evenings of one week, sent it to press in portions as it was written, and never read it over,' until many years afterwards, when he met with it as he was upon a journey.

I forbear to quote passages from a book upon which your own minds must long since have given their approving judgment ; and pass on to notice an important change which, soon after its appearance, took place in the position of its author. His literary fame was at its height. The University of Oxford had given him the honorary degree of Master of Arts by diploma, at the moment when the distinction was most valued by him,—namely, on the eve of the publication of his Dictionary. His society was sought after by the intelligent and good of different ranks and professions, who honoured him for his "works' sake ;" admiring the courage with which, in a day of religious apathy and unbelief, he had set up on high the standard of Truth, and the energy with which he had borne it onwards unto victory. The ties of a sacred brotherhood drew such men towards

afterwards. He received a hundred pounds for it, in the first instance ; and a further sum of twenty-five pounds, when it reached a second edition. *Ib.* 328—331.

him. They followed him from one obscure and ill-furnished lodging to another, thankful to learn wisdom from his lips, and to soothe his cares by their attention. It was the natural result of such influences, strengthening and increasing year by year, that they should at length reach those who stood in the high places of the earth, and lead them to regard, not with a proud condescension, or affected pity, but with prompt justice and generosity, the man who had conferred such precious gifts upon the English people, and yet was, in his own person, removed but one step from beggary. The result soon became evident. The representations, made, in the first instance, without his knowledge, by some of JOHNSON's intimate friends to Mr. Wedderburne, afterwards Lord Loughborough, and by him conveyed to the Earl of Bute, Prime Minister of the youthful George III., were followed immediately by the grant of a pension of three hundred pounds a year, for the remainder of JOHNSON's life. He needed, and accepted, this boon; but not without much difficulty; and the greatest was that which he had himself created. It is a remarkable instance of the manner in which a man's errors start into life, when he least expects it, and become the instruments of their own

retribution. JOHNSON, in his Dictionary, had thus defined the word *pension*:

'An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.'

And a *pensioner*, he had described as

'A slave of state hired by a stipend to obey his master.'

These definitions might possibly have been regarded by him as samples of what he has called elsewhere 'the risible absurdities from which no work of such multiplicity was ever free.' But the fact is, his self-love tempted him, in this single instance, to employ too lenient a designation. These, and some few other definitions which appeared in the earlier editions of the work, are worse than absurd; they are not true, and therefore not defensible upon any ground. That there have been pensions and pensioners, worthy of being branded with the opprobrious titles here affixed to them, there can be no doubt. But the abuse of a thing is not to be substituted for the thing itself. A rare and extraordinary example should not be cited to illustrate universally the class to which it belongs. The truest condemnation of such a course is that which

JOHNSON was made to experience in his own person. He had railed unjustly against pensions. And behold ! the proof now exhibited to the world that the grant of a pension to himself was a righteous act ; an act 'twice bless'd ;' a public homage paid to a public benefactor ; a gift, reflecting honour alike upon him that gave and him that received.

JOHNSON was, at this time, 1762, in his fifty-fourth year. The productions which flowed afterwards from his pen were not so numerous or diversified as they had been, whilst stern necessity had forced him to struggle daily for the supply of his daily wants. They still retained however all the marks of excellence by which his writings had been distinguished ; and two of them,—his *Tour to the Hebrides*, and *The Lives of the English Poets*,—may be regarded as second to none of all his works. But, although JOHNSON was less known to the public as a writer, during these latter years of his life, he exercised, by his conversation, within the circle of his personal friends, and, through them, upon the world at large, a greater influence than has ever yet been wielded by any one man. In 1763, Boswell found the opportunity, which he had so long sought for, of becoming acquainted with him ; and, two

years afterwards, JOHNSON was introduced into the family of Mr. Thrale. Through these two channels, chiefly, has been derived a mass of information respecting him, to which we shall in vain seek elsewhere for a parallel. His words, spoken upon the most trivial, as well as the most important, occasions, have been carefully recorded ; his minutest acts have been described ; his most secret papers have been ransacked ; a way has been found to detect the working of his inmost thoughts. In fact, we may say of him,—as was said by another of himself, when beset, not by friends, but by enemies,—that he was ‘sifted to the bran.’ And the result is truly astonishing. The more closely we examine the character thus laid open to our sight, the greater reason shall we see to admire it. We shall detect in it, indeed, the operation of false prejudices and depressing weaknesses ; but their existence only proves that it is the character of a man,—subject to the passions and frailties of our common humanity, and faithfully delineated,—which is here placed before us. And, comparing the history which relates them with that of other men, whose thoughts, and words, and acts, have been communicated with any thing like the same degree of minuteness to

the world, or with those secret workings of our own hearts of which we must be conscious to ourselves, we must confess the real cause of wonder to be this, 'that a portrait so laboriously minute and so painfully faithful, does not exhibit more of blemish, incongruity, and error⁵.'

To represent in detail the various features of this portrait, would be to paint it over again ;—a task, which no sane man would attempt. I will trust therefore to your general recollection of it ; and endeavour, upon that basis, to rest the few remarks which I have yet to offer. The secret of the influence which JOHNSON exercised by the powers of his conversation, was the same which ever guided his pen ; namely, his determination to vindicate and enforce truth at all times.

'In all things and every where,' it has been truly said, 'he spoke out in plain English, from a soul wherein jesuitism could find no harbour, and with the front and tone not of a diplomatist but of a man⁶.'

The choice gifts which he possessed were employed, for the most part, in subordination to the one great end which I have men-

⁵ Croker's Preface, p. xxv.

⁶ Carlyle's Miscellanies, iv. 96.

tioned. His quick perception, his varied knowledge, his tenacious memory, his ready wit, his unflinching courage, tried and practised as they had been by long and arduous struggles, became strengthened by that process. So that, at the time when every word that fell from his lips was noted and taken down, he possessed a ripeness of judgment and experience which enabled him to give to every word its full effect. He had long 'made it a constant rule to talk as well as he could, both as to sentiment and expression'; and hence that closeness of argument, that felicity of illustration, that power of expressing, in one terse strong sentence, some principle of truth which poured confusion upon his adversary, and made his own position impregnable. These qualities imparted to his conversation its peculiar excellence; and, whilst they who listened to him despaired of ever being able to attain them, their display seemed to cost him no effort. True, the possession of such high vantage-ground tempted him, upon some occasions, to resort to it in an unbecoming spirit; and his impatience of contradiction, and the rude and violent manner in which he sometimes administered re-

⁷ Boswell's Life, &c., v. 62.

buke, may be cited as proofs of this. But, it should be remembered,—and I say this in the words of one whose authority upon such a subject must be respected,

‘that, even in his most severe judgments, he was far oftener right than wrong; and that on all ordinary questions, both of opinion and of conduct, there were few men whom it was more hopeless to attempt deceiving either by inaccurate observation, by unreflecting appeals to the authority whether of great names or great numbers, by cherished prepossessions little examined, or by all the various forms which the cant of custom or of sentiment is wont to assume’.

And further, it should be remembered, that

‘not out of hatred to the opponent, but of love to the thing opposed, did JOHNSON grow cruel, fiercely contradictory; this is an important distinction, never to be forgotten in our censure of his conversational outrages’.

Another point there is, which, in our notice of the ‘conversational outrages’ committed by JOHNSON, ought never to be forgotten. And, it is this. He who so offended was always the first to acknowledge, and seek pardon for, his offence. Indeed, his

⁸ Lord Brougham’s *Men of Letters*, &c., ii. 47.

⁹ Carlyle’s *Miscellan.*, iv. 103.

love of truth and hatred of all disguise, made it impossible that he should not see the error, and that, seeing it, he should not confess it.

This master principle of JOHNSON'S character may be traced in small things, as in great ; upon occasions in which some casual remark was suddenly addressed to him, not less than upon others which gave him time for enquiry and reflection. Let me bring to your recollection, as an instance of the first, that well-known reply of his to the lady who asked him how he had come to define in the Dictionary, the word '*pastern*,' by saying that it was the *knee* of a horse. Some men might have been disconcerted, at finding their learned labours meddled with in this manner, and have tried to evade the question. Others might have defended, at all hazards, the faulty definition. But JOHNSON answered, with bluff simplicity, 'Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance.' Again, as an instance of the latter kind, let me ask you to call to mind the readiness with which, having been betrayed into a support of Lauder's Essay upon Milton, from a belief that its representations were just, he, afterwards,—in the name of Lauder, and in a letter to Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Douglas,

who had detected the frauds contained in it,—avowed, in the most explicit terms, the shameful character of the wrong.

I now proceed to notice very briefly one of those celebrated works which, I have already said, were written by JOHNSON in the latter period of his life,—I mean, his *Tour to the Hebrides*. The wish to visit those Western Isles of Scotland had been awakened in his mind, at a very early age, by reading an account of them which his father had put into his hands. And, nine years after he had become acquainted with Boswell, when JOHNSON was in his sixty-fifth year, he set out to make his long-talked-of visit to those regions, and joined Boswell in Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1773. The germ of his complete work may be found in the Letters which he wrote to Mrs. Thrale, whilst he was upon his journey. You may read them in the Appendix to the third volume of Croker's Edition of Boswell; and those who have time to do so, will find it interesting to compare the first rough notes of places and persons contained in these Letters, with the more elaborate, but not always improved, relation of the same in his formal narrative. The idea of the latter first entered into his mind, he tells us, whilst he

was resting in one of the beautiful vallies of the Highlands. Gibbon, you may remember, closes his History, by saying 'that it was among the ruins of the Capitol, that' he 'first conceived the idea of a work which amused and exercised near twenty years of' his 'life.' And, if we may compare for a moment that vast work with the present brief and unpretending narrative of JOHNSON, we shall find that the outward aspect of the scenery upon which the latter gazed, was not less naturally suggestive of the Journal which he afterwards made public, than were the ruins of the Capitol of the History of the fall of Rome. He thus describes it:

'I sat down on a bank, such as a writer of romance might have delighted to feign. I had indeed no trees to whisper over my head, but a clear rivulet streamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air was soft, and all was rudeness, silence, and solitude. Before me, and on either side, were high hills, which, by hindering the eye from ranging, forced the mind to find some entertainment for itself. Whether I spent the hour well I know not; for here I first conceived the thought of this narration.'

We may safely affirm, I think, that he spent that hour well, and that our own hours shall be spent not less well, which are employed in reading what he thus wrote. We

shall be slow, therefore, to admit the justice of that censure which has been cast upon the work, by a high authority, in the present day, who states, that,

‘Less entertaining than most books of travels, it is solemn about trifles, and stately without excuse, so as not rarely to provoke a smile, at the disproportion between the sound and the sense’¹.

That it is ‘less entertaining than most books of travels,’ will be readily granted. And yet, it is but the simple truth to say, that, in no such book can there be pointed out a passage, in which the traveller, who sets foot upon ground that has been the scene of valiant or holy deeds, has given more eloquent expression to sentiments in themselves most just, than that which occurs in the well-known description of JOHNSON’S visit to Iona. Again, we may safely concede that there are some passages in this narrative which, at first sight, shall appear to lie open to the charge of the noble and learned critic. But a closer examination will show that those which seem to be most ‘solemn about trifles, and stately without excuse,’ are not really such. Take, for example, the passage in which JOHNSON describes the inconvenience

¹ Lord Brougham’s *Men of Letters*, ut sup. 65.

which he felt upon arriving at a house in Bamff, the windows of which could not readily be opened.

‘They are more frugal,’ he says, ‘of their glass than the English, and will often, in houses not otherwise mean, compose a square of two pieces, not joining like cracked glass, but with one edge laid perhaps half an inch over the other. Their windows do not move upon hinges, but are pushed up and down in grooves, yet they are seldom accommodated with weights and pulleys. He that would have his window open must hold it with his hand, unless, what may be sometimes found among good contrivers, there be a nail which he may stick into a hole to keep it from falling.

‘What cannot be done without some uncommon trouble or particular expedient will not often be done at all. The incommodiousness of the Scotch windows keeps them very closely shut. The necessity of ventilating human habitations has not yet been found by our northern neighbours ; and even in houses well built and elegantly furnished, a stranger may be sometime forgiven if he allows himself to wish for fresher air.’

It is quite clear from these words, that, if JOHNSON were living in our own day, we should have him in our ranks as a strenuous supporter of the Health of Towns Bill ; and that the largeness of heart, and depth of charity, and vigour of resolution, by which he was so well known, would have been enlisted in behalf of the cause which, daily and hourly, presents fresh claims upon the

sympathy and support of all good citizens. But, this by the way. The main object for which I have cited these words, is to show, that, instead of presenting any 'disproportion between the sound and the sense,' they should be regarded rather as giving their right importance to realities which some men may deem unworthy of notice. They prove that there is nothing, however low or trivial, which may not, if properly employed, minister to the welfare of every member of the body politic. It would seem as if JOHNSON had anticipated that some such censures as those to which I have referred, might be cast upon this and other like passages. And he puts himself, by anticipation, upon his defence. Hear the noble terms in which he makes it.

'These diminutive observations seem to take away something from the dignity of writing, and therefore are never communicated but with hesitation, and a little fear of abasement and contempt. But it must be remembered, that life consists not of a series of illustrious actions, or elegant enjoyments; the greater part of our time passes in compliance with necessities, in the performance of daily duties, in the removal of small inconveniencies, in the procurement of petty pleasures; and we are well or ill at ease, as the main stream of life glides on smoothly, or is ruffled by small obstacles and frequent interruption. The true state of every nation is the state of common life. The

manners of a people are not to be found in the schools of learning, or the palaces of greatness, where the national character is obscured or obliterated by travel or instruction, by philosophy or vanity ; nor is public happiness to be estimated by the assemblies of the gay, or the banquets of the rich. The great mass of nations is neither rich nor gay : they whose aggregate constitutes the people are found in the streets and villages, in the shops and farms ; and from them collectively considered must the measure of general prosperity be taken. As they approach to delicacy, a nation is refined ; as their conveniencies are multiplied, a nation, at least a commercial nation, must be denominated wealthy.'

Words of weighty wisdom and pure benevolence are these. The remembrance of them, I feel persuaded, must help to prove the sacredness of those claims by which JOHNSON retains a foremost place in the memory of a grateful and admiring world.

Let us now pass onward, and advert to his last work which I have mentioned, 'The Lives of the Poets.' In so doing, we may, all of us, subscribe thankfully to the sentence of the critic, from whose judgment, in one instance, we have just now ventured to dissent, and say with him, that, of all the prose writings of JOHNSON, this is 'his greatest and best.' The design, as first proposed to him by the London booksellers, did not embrace that extent of narrative which it ultimately

reached. He thus describes it in a letter to Boswell, dated May 3, 1777.

‘I am engaged to write little Lives, and little Prefaces, to a little edition of the English Poets.’

And, in his Preface to the complete work, he states,

‘I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure.’

In 1779, the first part of the series appeared; and, two years afterwards, the remainder. It begins with Cowley, and ends with Lord Lyttleton, who had died but a short time prior to that in which the work had been designed. It embraces, therefore, all the poets who flourished in England, throughout the century and a half which succeeded the Elizabethan age; that illustrious band, of whom to say that Cowley, and Milton, and Dryden, and Pope, ranked the foremost, is sufficient to prove the greatness of their fame, and the arduous character of the office which he was called upon to discharge, who became the narrator of their lives, and the critic of their writings. We believe that JOHNSON discharged this office faithfully. We deny not that there are many instances, in which the attentive and impartial reader may well demur to the judgment which he finds pronounced

in these pages. And, what critic, who traverses a field of literature so wide and varied, could have hoped to carry with him the suffrages of every reader? But, regarding the work as a whole, let me ask you, if you do not rise from each fresh perusal of it, with increased feelings of admiration for its author. Look only to the first and best of all the 'Lives,'—that of Cowley,—and read the description there given by JOHNSON of the metaphysical poets; the censure, which he passes upon Pope's definition of wit; the clear and comprehensive terms, in which he lays down his own; and the conclusion which he draws thence, that the metaphysical poets could not establish their claim to the possession of wit². Then

² I subjoin the whole passage: 'If wit be well described by Pope, as being "that which has been often thought, but was never before so well expressed," they certainly never attained, nor ever sought it; for they endeavoured to be singular in their thoughts, and were careless of their diction. But Pope's account of wit is undoubtedly erroneous: he depresses it below its natural dignities, and reduces it from strength of thought to hapiness of language.

'If by a more noble and more adequate conception, that be considered as wit which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is, upon its first production, acknowledged to be just; if it be that which he that never found it, wonders how he missed; to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets have seldom risen. Their

pass on, and mark the manner in which he proves them to have failed likewise in attaining the pathetic or the sublime. The pathetic was beyond their reach, because

‘they never inquired what, on any occasion, they should have said or done; but wrote rather as beholders, than partakers of human nature; as beings looking upon good and evil, impassive and at leisure; as epicurean deities, making remarks on the actions of men, and the vicissitudes of life, without interest and without emotion.’

The sublime also was beyond their reach;

‘for they never attempted that comprehension and expanse of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the first effect is sudden astonishment, and the second rational admiration.—Their attempts were always analytick; they broke every image into fragments; and could no more represent, by their slender conceits, and laboured particularities, the prospects of nature, or the scenes of life, than he who dissects a sunbeam with a prism can exhibit the wide effulgence of a summer noon.’

And yet, JOHNSON does not begrudge the

thoughts are often new, but seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found.’

metaphysical poets their just meed of praise.
He reminds us that

‘great labour, directed by great abilities, is never wholly lost ; if they frequently threw away their wit upon false conceits, they likewise struck out some unexpected truth : if their conceits were far-fetched, they were often worth the carriage. To write on their plan, it was at least necessary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphysical poet, nor assume the dignity of a writer, by descriptions copied from descriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery, and hereditary similes, by readiness of rhyme, and volubility of syllables.’

You may have heard probably that JOHNSON’S dislike of MILTON’S political opinions made him insensible to the beauties and to the greatness of his poetry. The assertion is untrue. JOHNSON abhorred, no doubt, the political opinions of MILTON. But these, remember, are the concluding words of his criticism upon MILTON’S writings.

‘Of all the borrowers from HOMER, MILTON is perhaps the least indebted.—He was naturally a thinker for himself, confident of his own abilities, and disdainful of help or hinderance ; he did not refuse admission to the thoughts or images of his predecessors, but he did not seek them.—From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received support ; there is in his writings nothing by which the

pride of other authours might be gratified, or favour gained; no exchange of praise, nor solicitation of support.—His great works were performed under discountenance and in blindness; but difficulties vanished at his touch; he was born for whatsoever is arduous; and *his work is not the greatest of heroick poems, only because it is not the first.*

If this be JOHNSON's testimony, what statement can be less tenable than that which affirms of the Tory critic that he has not paid just homage to the republican poet?

Or, once more, glance at another department of criticism, widely different from either of those to which I have just adverted, namely, that at the conclusion of Pope's Life, wherein JOHNSON reviews his Epitaphs; and you will find it impossible to withhold your assent from the wisdom of the approving or condemning sentences which are there pronounced. The best criticism among them, I think, you will say, is upon that which JOHNSON has justly described 'as the most valuable of all Pope's Epitaphs,' in memory of Mrs. Corbet; of whom, in its two concluding lines, the poet had said,

'Heaven, as its purest gold, by tortures tried;
The saint sustain'd it, but the woman died.'

'The subject of this epitaph,' adds JOHNSON, 'is a character not discriminated by any shining or eminent

particularities ; yet that which really makes, though not the splendour, the felicity of life, and that which every wise man will choose for his final and lasting companion in the languor of age, in the quiet of privacy, when he departs weary and disgusted from the ostentatious, the volatile, and the vain. Of such a character, which the dull overlook, and the gay despise, it was fit that the value should be made known, and the dignity established. Domestick virtue, as it is exerted without great occasions, or conspicuous consequences, in an even unnoted tenour, required the genius of Pope to display it in such a manner as might attract regard, and enforce reverence.'

Do you not trace here the workings of the same spirit which animated him when he wrote that passage, to which I have already called your attention, in the *Tour to the Hebrides* ? There, he reminded us that

'life consisted not of a series of illustrious actions, or elegant enjoyments,'—but that 'we are well or ill at ease, as the main stream of life glides on smoothly, or is ruffled by small obstacles and frequent interruption.'

Here, he shows, from the example of woman, saintly in her sufferings, what those qualities are, which help to make the stream of domestic life glide on in peace ; that in these consists, 'not the splendour,' but 'the felicity, of life ;' and, that, howsoever 'the dull' may 'overlook,' or 'the gay despise' them,

it is the duty of every lover of the truth to make known their value, and to establish their dignity.

The time does not permit me to cite the further testimonies which are at hand, to prove the fidelity with which JOHNSON discharged his office as the biographer of English Poets. Let me hope that these which I have cited may lead others, by a careful examination of the work, to accumulate further evidences for themselves. And, sure I am that they who prosecute such an enquiry with impartiality and attention, will be the first to enter an indignant protest against the sweeping injustice of that dictum,—recorded though it be by the most eminent critic of the day,—which awards indeed the praise of excellence to the remarks of JOHNSON upon Pope's Epitaphs, but affirms, that, 'when a deeper philosophy was required, when he undertook to pronounce judgment on the works of those great minds which "yield homage only to eternal laws," his failure was ignominious: ' that 'the judgments which JOHNSON passed on books were, in his own time, regarded with superstitious veneration, and, in our time, are generally treated with indiscriminate contempt ;—that

‘they are the judgments of a strong but enslaved understanding’³.

Is not this to behold the mote in our brother’s eye, and to forget the beam that is darkening our own ? to describe the bondage of the strong man, doomed to grind in the prison-house of his own prejudices, and to show that bonds not less grievous may be shackling ourselves ? Be this, however, as it may, the critic can do no more than represent his own opinions. To say that intelligent and impartial readers treat ‘generally with indiscriminate contempt the judgments which JOHNSON passed on books,’ is to thrust upon them the burden of a testimony which they, I believe, will not consent to bear.

The notice of JOHNSON’S prejudices naturally leads me to glance at the department which stirred some of them most frequently into action, namely, the politics of the day, and those great, and widely differing, principles of national government, of which the opinions of conflicting parties in the Legislature were then, as they are now, the exponents. In so doing, I must necessarily go back some years prior to the publication of the celebrated work

³ Macaulay’s *Essays*, i. 396. 299.

which has led to these remarks. But it is only the briefest possible notice of this subject that I am about to take ; for we have much more high and noble matters, claiming our regard, than the strifes of Whig and Tory a century ago ; and, as for the hard names which JOHNSON applied to Whiggery, they certainly shall not find a defender in me. This much, however, I may at least say, in reference to his political opinions, that he held them honestly, and free from all disguise, and without respect to the fear or favour of any man or of any set of men. And, further,—let me say it in the words of one who shared no sympathy with him in politics,—that, if he ‘stationed himself as the unyielding opponent of Innovation,’ it was not by resisting Inquiry. Others might resort to such an expedient ;

‘but it would not do for JOHNSON : he was a zealous recommender and practiser of Inquiry ; once for all, he could and would not believe, much less speak and act, a Falsehood ; the *form* of sound words, which he held fast, must have a *meaning* in it.’

Again, let me say,—in the words of the same writer,—of the political, as well as of all the other, writings of JOHNSON, that they

‘are not *shows* but performances : you may weigh them in the balance, and they will stand weight. Not

a line, not a sentence is dishonestly done, is other than it pretends to be ⁴’

Another point too deserves attention,—and I remind you of it now the more readily because it has been often overlooked in the estimate which men have formed of JOHNSON’S political opinions,—and that was his strong abhorrence of Slavery. The hateful trade which in our day, thank God, is abolished in every British Colony, had its defenders, strong and numerous, at that time; but JOHNSON attacked it vigorously, wheresoever he could. Towards the end of his ‘Taxation no Tyranny,’—published in 1775,—he derides the selfishness of those who, yelping the most loudly for liberty, are themselves the drivers of negroes. Two years afterwards, he dictates to Boswell an argument in favour of a negro claiming his liberty;—it is one of the few occasions upon which Boswell plucks up courage to protest against what he conceived to be the dangerous doctrine of JOHNSON:—and, in his conversations, he takes every opportunity of proclaiming irreconcilable war against the whole system. The opinions, also, which he distinctly avowed, in speech and in writing, upon the misgovernment of

⁴ Carlyle’s *Miscellanies*, iv. 79. 101.

Ireland, the severity of the penal code, and that of the law relating to imprisonment for debt, were, all of them, in advance of the opinions commonly held by the politicians of his day; and the justice of them has since been repeatedly vindicated by the Acts of our Legislature. Lord Brougham, in those *Memoirs of Men of Letters and of Science*, to which I have already referred, has, with great propriety, cited with approbation the opinions of JOHNSON upon these subjects, as well as upon that, which I have just mentioned, of Slavery⁵. They, therefore, who have accustomed themselves to think and to speak of JOHNSON, with respect to his political opinions, as the representative only of stubborn bigotry and prejudice, will do well to review the grounds upon which the justice of such a condemnation is supposed to rest.

Of the other political writings of JOHNSON, which appeared in the few years immediately preceding that which I have just named, namely, 'The False Alarm,' 'Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands,' and 'The Patriot,' I will say no more than that the second of them,—written for the purpose of urging the nation not to make

⁵ II. 61. Compare also No. CXIV. of the *Rambler*, and Nos. XXII., XXXVIII. of the *Idler*.

the possession of Falkland's Islands a reason for plunging into war,—contains a passage, descriptive of the miseries of war, which, for the truth and vigour of its statements, deserves to be remembered.

‘As war is the last of remedies, *cuncta prius tentanda*, all lawful expedients must be used to avoid it. As war is the extremity of evil, it is surely the duty of those whose station intrusts them with the care of nations, to avert it from their charge. There are diseases of animal nature which nothing but amputation can remove; so there may, by the depravation of human passions, be sometimes a gangrene in collective life for which fire and the sword are necessary remedies; but in what can skill and caution be better shown than preventing such fearful operations, while there is yet room for gentler methods?

‘It is wonderful with what coolness and indifference the greater part of mankind see war commenced. Those that hear of it at a distance, or read of it in books, but have never presented its evils to their minds, consider it as little more than a splendid game, a proclamation, an army, a battle, and a triumph. Some indeed must perish in the most successful field, but they die upon the bed of honour, “resign their lives amidst the joys of conquest, and filled with England's glory, smile in death.”

‘The life of a modern soldier is ill represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale,

torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless, and enterprise impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled, and armies sluggishly melted away.'

One passage more, and the notice of JOHNSON'S writings is concluded. It is that wherein he lashes Junius, in whose celebrated letters had been advocated an opposite line of policy to that which JOHNSON defended.

'Junius,' he writes, 'burst into notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice, enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has had the art of persuading when he seconded desire; as a moralist, he has taught that virtue may disgrace; and as a patriot, he has gratified the mean by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abstract from his wit the vivacity of insolence, and withdraw from his efficacy the sympathetick favour of plebeian malignity; I do not say that we shall leave him nothing; the cause that I defend scorns

the help of falsehood; but if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praise?’

The conclusion at which we have thus arrived of these scattered notices of JOHNSON’S writings, is a sign that we draw near to the conclusion of his Life. But, before we contemplate that closing scene, I would very briefly remind you, that, throughout the last twenty years and more, in which the appliances and means of temporal comfort were secured to him in larger measure than he had known before, there was still the same undeviating and ardent piety ever distinguishing him. His deep humility, his earnest aspirations after amendment, his desire to walk in more close communion with his God, and to be more useful to his fellow-men, seem to have increased in intensity, as years passed on. It were needless to recite such evidences in detail. Let it suffice to remind you of the memorandum which he wrote, in his seventy-third year, as he sat one afternoon in the summer-house at Streatham :

‘ After innumerable resolutions formed and neglected, I have retired hither, to plan a life of greater diligence, in hope that I may yet be useful, and be daily better prepared to appear before my Creator and my Judge, from whose infinite mercy I humbly call for assistance and support.

‘My purpose is,
‘To pass eight hours every day in some serious
employment.
‘Having prayed, I purpose to employ the next six
weeks upon the Italian language for my settled study⁶.’

See here the working of the same devout spirit which, from his earliest youth, had animated him ;—the salient spring also, from which gushed forth a stream of deepest and purest charity. Yes, I will repeat it, charity. Notwithstanding all that has been recorded of his rude and violent ways,—and which, with strange perverseness, are remembered, whilst better things are forgotten,—there was in JOHNSON an earnest and practical benevolence, which no man has surpassed ; I doubt whether any man has equalled. It is no exaggeration of the truth to say, in the words of him whom I have once and again quoted, that

‘Few men on record have had a more merciful, tenderly affectionate nature than old Samuel. He was called the Bear ; and did indeed too often look, and roar, like one ; being forced to it in his own defence ; yet within that shaggy exterior of his there beat a heart warm as a mother’s, soft as a little child’s.’⁷

You have a host of witnesses to prove the

⁶ Boswell’s *Life*, &c., v. 7.

⁷ Carlyle’s *Miscellanies*, iv. 103.

truth of this. I have already told you of the men who were employed by him as copyists in the great work of his Dictionary, with what generous sympathy he treated them, at a time when he was hardly less poor than they, and how affectionately he remembered them ever afterwards. And then, there was that poor, blind lady, Mrs. Anna Williams, who, having become acquainted with JOHNSON during his wife's life-time, under circumstances in which she still cherished the hope that her sight might be restored, was afterwards received into his house, in order that she might there undergo a surgical operation upon her eyes with less inconvenience than that to which she would have been exposed in her own lodging. The operation proved ineffectual; but, at all times that JOHNSON had a house of his own, this poor sufferer retained an apartment in it, and experienced until the day of her death,—which took place about a year before his own,—the utmost kindness at his hands. And with her was another lady, Mrs. Desmoulins, a daughter of JOHNSON's godfather, to whom, in her indigence, he gave not only the shelter of his house, but also, from the time of receiving his pension, a weekly allowance, which amounted

to more than a twelfth part of its amount. Besides these, there was good Robert Levett, the apothecary, who occupied for many years a garret in JOHNSON'S house, and a place at his table.

‘ When fainting nature call’d for aid,
And hovering death prepared the blow,
His vigorous remedy display’d
The power of art without the show.

In misery’s darkest caverns known,
His ready help was ever nigh,
Where hopeless anguish pour’d his groan,
And lonely want retired to die.

No summons mock’d by chill delay,
No petty gains disdain’d by pride ;
The modest wants of every day,
The toil of every day supply’d.’

In these and other touching verses did JOHNSON himself describe the character of his friend, when death had removed him.

And yet, another of JOHNSON'S household remains to be noticed, his faithful negro servant, Francis Barber. He came under JOHNSON'S roof, a fortnight after his wife's death, in 1752 ; and remained with him, with the exception of two brief intervals, to the last. One portion of this period was passed by Francis at a school to which JOHNSON had sent him. And the spirit in which

his kind master there watched over him may be learnt from the following letter.

‘ London, Sep. 25, 1770.

‘ DEAR FRANCIS,—I am at last sat down to write to you, and should very much blame myself for having neglected you so long, if I did not impute that and many other failings to want of health. I hope not to be so long silent again. I am very well satisfied with your progress, if you can really perform the exercises which you are set; and I hope Mr. Ellis does not suffer you to impose on him, or on yourself. Let me know what English books you read for your entertainment. You can never be wise unless you love reading.

‘ Do not imagine that I shall forget or forsake you; for if, when I examine you, I find that you have not lost your time, you shall want no encouragement from yours affectionately,

‘ SAM. JOHNSON *.’

With this faithful negro servant, JOHNSON, in later years, joined frequently in prayer and conversation upon holy things; and, by the provision which he made for him under his last Will, proved, that, in death as in life, he loved and honoured him.

Looking then only to the inmates of JOHNSON’S house, you have abundant proofs of that earnest and practical benevolence which I have ascribed to him; and these

* Boswell’s Life, &c., ii. 120.

proofs become all the stronger, when you take into the account the fact that his domestic peace was constantly broken in upon by the petty jealousies and feuds of those whom he thus sheltered and maintained. Their infirmities, however, changed not his charitable purposes. His love was stronger than their divisions.

But the witnesses to whom I appeal are not those only who lodged with JOHNSON in his humble dwelling. Walk with him across its threshold, and you will see how the same tender-hearted and generous spirit was with him every where. Sometimes, he stops as he sees poor children in the early morning asleep in their stalls, and places pennies in their hands to buy them a breakfast ;—at another time, he lifts up a wretched daughter of infamy, who had fallen, faint and famished, upon the pavement of the street, carries her upon his back to his house, finds afterwards a place of shelter for her, and spares neither money, nor time, nor counsel, that her body may be restored to health, or, what is more precious yet, her soul to peace. Then, again, he entreats his richer friends to help him in the relief of some other case of wretched destitution, and declares that the opportunity of making such appeals was

‘one of the thousand reasons which ought to restrain a man from drony solitude and useless retirement.’ Or, he pleads, as a scholar with scholars, for a poor, aged descendant of one of the most celebrated of all scholars ; and begs them not to allow it to ‘be said that in any lettered country a nephew of Grotius asked a charity, and was refused.’ Or, he struggles (but in vain) to obtain a still greater boon, and intercedes, with the King upon his throne, and with the statesman in his cabinet,—not for food, or shelter, but for life,—on behalf of one whom the ‘laws and judges had condemned to the horror and ignominy of a publick execution.’

But the chain of testimony is not yet complete. He will not suffer any even of the brute creation to be treated with unkindness ; and, when an old horse, belonging to Mr. Thrale, is about to ‘be sold to hard work,’ he tries to rescue it ; and, if money be required to save the poor animal from starving and from cruel blows, he offers it. And then see with what tenderness his heart yearns towards one who, with spirit as immortal as his own, had worn out her life in the service of those most dear to him. In his fifty-ninth year, when his literary reputation

was at its height, and competency of means had been for some time secured to him, JOHNSON passes three months in his native city. And there, he visits and bids farewell to her of whom I speak. No other words but his own may be employed to tell us of that scene.

‘ Sunday, Oct. 18, 1767. Yesterday, Oct. 17, at about ten in the morning, I took my leave for ever of my dear old friend, Catherine Chambers, who came to live with my mother about 1724, and has been but little parted from us since. She buried my father, my brother, and my mother. She is now fifty-eight years old.

‘ I desired all to withdraw, then told her that we were to part for ever; that as Christians, we should part with prayer; and that I would, if she was willing, say a short prayer beside her. She expressed great desire to hear me; and held up her poor hands, as she lay in bed, with great fervour, while I prayed, kneeling by her, nearly in the following words :

‘ Almighty and most merciful Father, whose loving-kindness is over all thy works, behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant, who is grieved with sickness. Grant that the sense of her weakness may add strength to her faith, and seriousness to her repentance. And grant that by the help of thy holy Spirit, after the pains and labours of this short life, we may all obtain everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for whose sake hear our prayers. Amen. Our Father, &c.

‘ I then kissed her. She told me, that to part was the greatest pain that she had ever felt, and that she

hoped we should meet again in a better place. I expressed, with swelled eyes, and great emotion of tenderness, the same hopes. We kissed, and parted, I humbly hope to meet again, and to part no more⁹.'

Was ever faith more stedfast, or love more pure than this? Here is the poor scholar of Lichfield come back again to his home. His prayers have been granted; his aspirations realized; his work done right well. And now,—in the name of that God before whom he and his fathers had walked, "the God which" had "fed" him "all" his "life long unto" that "day, the Angel which" had "redeemed" him "from all evil,"—he blesses, amid tears and kisses, the dear old faithful servant of his house, who had closed the eyes of his father, brother, and mother, and is now about herself to "walk through the valley of the shadow of death." She fears "no evil;" for she knows,—and he who kneels by her side repeats the assurance,—that the Lord is with her; that His "rod and" His "staff comfort"¹⁰ her. May we not look upon this as the most precious record in JOHNSON'S life? Others may tell of struggle and of victory, of undaunted

⁹ Boswell's Life, &c., ii. 42.

¹⁰ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. Ps. xxiii. 4.

resolution, of successful diligence, of transcendant fame, of wisdom learnt from his lips as from an oracle. But, assuredly, the page which good men would desire, most of all, to contemplate, and, contemplating which, they may be led to emulate the spirit there displayed, is that which speaks to them of the day when JOHNSON wept and prayed with Catherine Chambers.

We now draw near to the time when he himself was summoned to follow her to the grave. And it is remarkable, that, through the first thick shadow which marked that coming event, we may discern clearly the singular firmness of his mind. On the evening of a summer's day in 1783, when he was in his seventy-fifth year, JOHNSON had felt a more than ordinary lightness and buoyancy of spirit. He had sat that day for his picture; had walked a considerable way with little inconvenience; and was musing, with interest, upon future schemes. Soon after he had retired to rest, he awoke with a confused sensation in his head. Alarmed lest his reason should be giving way, he prayed God to spare it; and then, as a test whereby to try his faculties, cast the words of his prayer into Latin verse. He knew indeed that the lines were not good; yet, as

hoped we should meet again in a better place. I expressed, with swelled eyes, and great emotion of tenderness, the same hopes. We kissed, and parted, I humbly hope to meet again, and to part no more⁹.

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and for him, by those who, in virtue of their sacred calling, not less than from the love they bore him, then ministered in his chamber. Many partook with him also, for the last time, of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. And seldom has the earnestness of faith been more wonderfully displayed. It is recorded by one then present, Sir John Hawkins, that, before the exhortation was read, JOHNSON knelt down, and, with a degree of fervour which he had never witnessed before, uttered the following prayer :

‘ Almighty and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate, for the last time, the death of thy Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in his merits and in thy mercy : forgive and accept my late conversion ; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance ; make the commemoration of him available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope, and the enlargement of my charity ; and make the death of thy Son Jesus effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me, and pardon the multitude of my offences. Bless my friends, have mercy upon all men. Support me by the grace of thy Holy Spirit in the days of weakness, and at the hour of death, and receive me, at my death, to everlasting happiness, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen ².’

² Boswell's Life, &c., v. 335. It may interest the classical reader to remember that the deep searchings of

Eight days afterwards, SAMUEL JOHNSON died. But when will he cease to live in the hearts of Englishmen ? Or when will Englishmen forget to venerate his brave and honest spirit ?

We have traced the workings of that spirit in the review which we have attempted to take of the evidences which exhibit them. Imperfect as the attempt is, it will not have been made in vain if it deepen in our minds, first of all, the impression of this great truth, that, what men call the misfortunes of life,—

heart which JOHNSON then experienced found vent also in the Latin tongue. It appears, from a memorandum attached to the following lines, which are a translation of the Collect for Purity in our Communion Service, that he composed them upon the same day, December 5, 1784, on which, as I have stated above, he received the Lord's Supper for the last time. (See JOHNSON'S Works, i. 188. ed. 1824.) It is probable, therefore, that these were the last verses ever composed by him ; and what more fitting termination could there be of the life of a Christian Scholar !

' Summe Deus, cui cæca patent penetralia cordis ;
 Quem nulla anxietas, nulla cupido fugit ;
 Quem nil vafrities peccantùm subdola celat ;
 Omnia qui spectans, omnia ubique regis ;
 Mentibus afflatu terrenas ejice sordes
 Divino, sanctus regnet ut intus amor :
 Eloquiumque potens linguis torpentibus affer,
 Ut tibi laus omni semper ab ore sonet :
 Sanguine quo gentes, quo secula cuncta piavit,
 Hæc nobis Christus promeruisse velit.'

poverty, bodily sickness, and the like,—are, in fact, channels through which the choicest mercies of God's Providence are secured. Doubtless, this truth has been often brought home to your hearts elsewhere. From the pulpit or in the closet, from the testimonies of Holy Scripture or the arguments of man's philosophy, you may have learnt to regard 'afflictions' as 'mercies in disguise.' But see what practical confirmation of the reality of this saying is supplied in the trials which SAMUEL JOHNSON encountered. His morbid indolence,—would it not have become incurable, had he been nursed in the lap of luxury? His gloomy melancholy, his sturdy boldness—would not these have degenerated into a morose selfishness, or overbearing tyranny, if, from his childhood upwards, he had been accustomed to find every wish anticipated, and every want supplied? His poverty, therefore, was his defence. It drove his indolence away; it dragged him from darkness into light; it forced him, by the exercise of man's noblest energies, to know the highest happiness which man can feel. It is the battle that tries the soldier; and the storm the pilot. And so did the poor scholar learn, by the very length and severity of the struggles which he endured, the real value of

that truth which enabled him to teach righteousness unto the people.

The foundation upon which that truth rests, I need not again point out to you. We have seen that JOHNSON knew it, and built every hope upon it; that, in youth, in manhood, and in age, he alike remembered it; that, in the record of his private thoughts, in his published writings, in his familiar converse, and amid the solemnities of his dying hour, he bore the same distinct and faithful testimony to its unchanged, unchanging power. Here, then, is another reason why we should cherish earnestly the hope that the light of SAMUEL JOHNSON may not have shone in vain upon our land.

It is evident that we may all profit by the example here set before us. If, by virtue of that sacred principle, to which I have so often referred, JOHNSON was enabled to make good his determination that 'indigence' should never debilitate 'the powers of his mind,' or 'force him into any criminal act;' if to this determination he adhered, in spite of every allurement to a different course which the fashion of the age, the facilities of his ready pen, and the hard penury of many years, held out to him; he surely has pointed out to every one of us the way

in which we ought to walk, if we would walk with safety.

And so too, with respect to the specific rules which he laid down for his guidance, as he traversed that path, it is not necessary that we should be engaged in precisely the same pursuits with him, in order to profit by the same rules. They will be found equally applicable and useful in every department of life. For instance, the rule which, I have already said, he had prescribed to himself of always talking 'as well as he could, both as to sentiment and expression,' is one which all men may observe with respect to every subject that can interest the mind, and which never can be observed by any without benefit. Be it in reference to things great or little, *let us always do our best*; and we may be sure, that, in the end, the best will be the easiest. Indeed, without this constant effort to excel, we shall not only do nothing well, but nothing readily. For, as JOHNSON himself asserts in his *Life of Milton*,

'What we hope ever to do with ease, we must first learn to do with diligence.'

But some of you may say, that JOHNSON contradicted, in his own person, the truth of his own maxim; that he wrote with a ra-

pidity which seemed more like instinct than art ; and often sent sheets of manuscript to press, without even reading them. And you may infer thence, that, as he was spared the ordinary labour of composition by the gift of writing with intuitive readiness, so you, in the same measure that you think yourselves possessors of like gifts, may fairly hope to escape the penalty of toil.

I must beg you, however, to consider the matter a little more carefully, before you act upon such a conclusion. JOHNSON wrote, certainly, with wonderful speed. And I am willing to admit that this may partly have been owing to a certain natural facility which he possessed of so expressing himself. But, I believe, he was indebted for it much more to the earnest and thoughtful study which he gave to every subject upon which he wrote. He had gradually acquired thereby the most ample and precious stores of knowledge, and was ready to produce them upon the instant, whensoever the call was made upon him³. To quote from Murphy's

³ He was, in fact, a living instance of the truth of those principles which the great master of criticism has described :

Scribendi recte, sapere est et principium et fons :

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ :

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

HOR. de Art. Poet. 309, &c.

well-known Essay, JOHNSON was one of those writers who,

‘employ at once memory and invention, and with little intermediate use of the pen, form and polish large masses by continued meditation, and write their productions only, when, in their opinion, they have completed them.—He never took his pen in hand till he had well weighed his subject, and grasped in his mind the sentiments, the train of argument, and the arrangement of the whole. As he often thought aloud, he had perhaps talked it over to himself’.

Other writers, it is true, may employ different methods of composition; and, instead of resorting to the mental process familiar to JOHNSON, may prefer to note down roughly their thoughts and information as they occur, and afterwards to bestow upon them the labour of correction. But, either way, remember, the means employed to attain the end are the same. Labour still remains the only pathway to excellence; and, without labour, be your gifts of intellect what they may, they will be to you as nothing, and worse than nothing.

With respect to JOHNSON, indeed, it ought especially to be observed, that, notwithstanding his facility of composition, and its acknowledged energy, he failed not, where-

‘Murphy’s Essay on the Life and Genius of DR. JOHNSON, *Works*, i. 102, 103.

soever the opportunity was presented to him, to try and make his work still better. Boswell, indeed, hearing him once say, to a lady, that he certainly could make his Rambler better than it was, offered to lay him a bet that he could not. 'But I will, Sir,' replied JOHNSON, 'if I choose. I shall make the best of them you shall pick out, better.' 'But you may add to them,' rejoined Boswell, 'I will not allow of that.' 'Nay, Sir,' said JOHNSON again, 'there are three ways of making them better; putting out, adding, or correcting.' These were not words uttered in vain. Chalmers, who quotes the above anecdote in his historical and biographical preface to the Rambler, has shown, by a comparison of the second and third editions of that paper with its original folio edition, that the alterations which JOHNSON made in them far exceed six thousand. A specimen of these alterations is given by Chalmers, and all, who will take pains to examine them, must admit them, I think, to be improvements⁵. The main conclusion which I draw from the fact of their existence is the proof, exhibited by it, of the untiring determination of JOHNSON always to do his best; to show himself no indulgence; and to re-

⁵ Chalmers' *British Essayists*, xvi. xxix.—xxxvii.

gard the rich faculties of which he was the possessor, not as an exemption from toil, but as an obligation resting upon him to toil yet all the more.

If you agree with me in believing this conclusion to be not only a legitimate result from the fact in question, as far as JOHNSON is concerned, but a testimony also to a mighty principle of truth most needful for all men, at all times, to remember, you will be prepared to admit with me the necessity of looking carefully to the real character of the natural gifts which you possess, lest the confidence which they have a tendency to excite may lead to mischief. Facility in writing, or facility in speaking, maybe among such gifts; and these very easily tempt a man to think that the words written or spoken at the cost of such little effort, are always the expression of just and true sentiments. If he find that he can write off a paper with greater rapidity, or utter a speech with greater fluency, than most of his contemporaries, he soon begins to be thought, or to think himself, a kind of oracle among them. And the more words he pours out, the greater perspicuity and force, he thinks, he shall give to the ideas which he wishes to express. But, independently of the moral

evils which, your own experience will tell you, frequently arise from the spirit of self-complacency thus created, the end, intended to be secured by the writing or the speech, will be defeated by the means employed. He who resorts to them will find himself falling into a style of 'pompous verbosity,' utterly destructive of the very objects which he is the most anxious to attain. Archbishop Whately, in his *Elements of Rhetoric*, has justly pointed out this error as one by which many, especially young writers and speakers, are apt to be misled.

'They are the more likely,' he says, 'to commit this mistake, because such a style will often appear not only to the author, but to the vulgar, (i. e. the vulgar in intellect,) among his hearers, to be very majestic and impressive. It is not uncommon to hear a speaker or writer of this class, mentioned as having a "very fine command of language," when, perhaps, it might be said with more correctness, that "his language has a command of him;" i. e. that he follows a train of words rather than of thought, and strings together all the striking expressions that occur to him on the subject, instead of first forming a clear notion of the sense he wishes to convey, and then seeking for the most appropriate vehicle to convey it ⁶.'

These cautions might not be deemed out

⁶ Archbishop Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric*, Part iii. C. ii. § 7.

of place, perhaps, at any time ; but, in a notice of JOHNSON and his style, they seem especially required. For, there are few styles which, by reason of its impressive majesty and strength, young men are more prone to imitate than his ; few, which even they who lack his vigour of thought, may find more easy to imitate⁷ ; and few, of which the imitation is more likely to lead to most absurd bombast. In him, the style was natural. From his first Preface to *Father Lobo's Voyage*, through all the varied records of speech or writing which have come down to us, to the last prayer which he uttered, amid weeping friends, in his chamber of mortal sickness, may be traced the same characteristic energy of expression. He could no more have entirely cast it off than he could have reduced his stature, or controlled the spasmodic action of his uncouth limbs⁸. In him, too, the style was powerful ;

⁷ Archbishop Whately, with his usual acuteness, has pointed out the reason why the style of JOHNSON admits so easily of imitation, namely, its excessive use of substantives. *Elements of Rhetoric*, Part iii. C. ii. § 8.

⁸ It is stated by Macaulay in his *Essays*, i. 404, 'that JOHNSON did not think in the dialect which he wrote ;' that 'the expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic, and picturesque ;' and that 'when he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of English

because it was the bold and honest utterance of his own deep thought. Yet, even in him, its dignity was sometimes lowered, and its strength impaired, by a redundancy of words. Much more are others likely to run into the worst errors which language can exhibit, who think to obtain the excellence which they admire in JOHNSON, by hunting after hard words of Greek and Latin origin, when the simple and familiar terms of their own native Saxon will do the work much better ; or, trying to balance one clause nicely against another, suffer no sentences to stand, but those which terminate with like harmonious

into Johnsonese.' A passage in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, whilst he was travelling in the Hebrides, and its parallel in the more formal narrative, are cited as proofs of the justice of this criticism. If the criticism be just, the assertions that follow it must also be received as true, namely, that the mannerism of JOHNSON was artificial, that it did 'not sit easy on' him, but was 'sustained only by constant effort,' and was therefore 'offensive.' The observations which I have made above must, according to such a judgment, be set aside. But I believe that they are strictly correct ; and that a reference, not to one or two passages, but to the whole body of JOHNSON's writings, will prove them to be so. Indeed, the reviewer himself bears witness to their correctness. For he says, p. 406, that 'no man had so little talent for personation as JOHNSON ;' and that 'his speech betrayed him under every disguise :—a plain admission, that the mannerism of JOHNSON was part of his very nature ; that it was not possible for him to speak or to write otherwise than he did.

cadence. Attending thus to sound more than to sense, to the vehicle that carries the thought, more than to the thought that is carried, such men must inevitably fail, as they deserve to do. If, indeed, they can throw their minds into the same channel of thought which the mind of JOHNSON found, and track it through with the same diligence, they may perhaps be able to give to it something of the same energy of expression. But, even at the best, imitations of JOHNSON are not to be admired. To cite the happy illustration of one of them, once employed by Burke,

‘ It has all his pomp without his force ; it has all the nodosities of the oak without its strength ; it has all the contortions of the sibyl, without the inspiration.’

It is remarkable that, whilst JOHNSON employed a style exclusively his own, and, indeed, for the reasons already stated, could employ no other, he himself bears witness to the fact that he did not deem it to be that which others would do best to imitate. The writer, whom he set before Englishmen as the most perfect model for them to observe, was one who differed the most widely from himself, even Addison. He calls him ‘ the Raphael of Essay writers ;’ and says that

⁹ Boswell’s Life, &c., iv. 429.

‘whoever wishes to obtain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison¹.’

Again, the patience with which JOHNSON bore the witty jest of Goldsmith, who told him, that, if he were to write a fable about little fishes, and ‘were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like whales²,’ would seem to indicate that he was not insensible to the justice of the charge, sometimes brought against him, that he wasted big words on little things. And so too, with regard to his frequent use of words derived from the learned languages, it is evident that he would have no man adopt the same practice, from any affected contempt for the simpler accents of the native tongue of Englishmen. On the contrary, whilst he gives a good reason for employing them at all, he enters a protest against the evil of employing them too frequently. His reason for employing them at all was this :

‘When common words were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I familiarized the terms of philosophy, by applying them to popular ideas.’

The protest which he entered against the

¹ Boswell’s Life, &c., i. 202.

² Ib. ii. 220.

too frequent employment of them is thus given in the Preface to his Dictionary :

‘ The words which our authors have introduced by their knowledge of foreign languages, or ignorance of their own, by vanity, or wantonness, by compliance with fashion or lust of innovation, I have registered as they occurred, though commonly only to censure them, and warn others against the folly of *naturalizing useless foreigners to the injury of the natives.*’

Murphy, indeed, in his Essay, has quoted a just observation of Dryden upon this subject ;

‘ If too many *foreign* words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were *designed, not to assist the natives, but to conquer them.*’

And he charges JOHNSON with having forgotten the truth of this observation. But, so far from having forgotten it, I think it quite clear, from the peculiar terms of the sentence just quoted from JOHNSON’S Preface, that, at the moment of writing that sentence, he must have had the very words of Dryden *actually* present to his mind³.

But it is time to bring our observations to a close. And, in so doing, I know not what reflections can, with greater propriety, be

³ Murphy’s Essay, &c., 157. The words which I have marked by Italics, I think, prove this.

summoned to our aid, than those which JOHNSON himself has supplied.

‘It is very happily and kindly provided,’ he says, ‘that in every life there are certain pauses and interruptions, which force consideration upon the careless, and seriousness upon the light; points of time where one course of action ends, and another begins; and by vicissitude of fortune, or alteration of employment, by change of place or loss of friendship, we are forced to say of something, this is the last.—It is only by finding life changeable that we are reminded of its shortness. This conviction, however forcible at every new impression, is every moment fading from the mind; and, partly by the inevitable incursion of new images, and partly by voluntary exclusion of unwelcome thoughts, we are again exposed to the universal fallacy; and we must do another thing before the last time, before we consider that the time is nigh when we shall do no more.—I hope that my readers are already disposed to view every incident with seriousness, and improve it by meditation; and that when they see this series of trifles brought to a conclusion, they will consider that, by outliving the Idler, they have passed weeks, months, and years, which are now no longer in their power; that an end must, in time, be put to every thing great, as to every thing little; that to life must come its last hour, and to this system of being, its last day; the hour at which probation ceases, and repentance will be vain; the day in which every work of the hand, and imagination of the heart, shall be brought to judgment, and an everlasting futurity shall be determined by the past.’

Thus spake SAMUEL JOHNSON, when he

closed the publication of the Idler. They are words which enforce, with touching and solemn dignity, the truth which it was the business of his whole life to teach. And I would fain hope that the recital of them, at this moment, may serve to promote the end for which he uttered them. May it 'force consideration upon the careless, and seriousness upon the light,' to feel, that, during the time which we have here employed in the contemplation of our great English Moralist, we have outlived another brief period of our life, which is 'now no longer in' our 'power!' And, since 'to life must come its last hour, and to this system of being its last day,' may the thought of that certain issue, and of the inevitable judgment that is to follow, quicken in the hearts of each of us the spirit of faith, and hope, and vigilance! I add no more.

ADDRESS III.

COLUMBUS.

TO COLUMBUS, a foremost rank amid the greatest of the human race has long been assigned by acclamation. Be it the marvellous reach of his sagacity, which you contemplate, his unshaken fortitude, his untiring zeal, his heavy reverses, his ardent piety, or the vastness of those results which have followed his discoveries, and not yet found their limit,—you seek, in vain, to trace the parallel of all these combined in any other man.

Nevertheless, there is much difficulty in forming a just estimate of the real greatness of COLUMBUS; and it is a difficulty, created by the very advantages which the present age possesses over that in which he lived. Your extensive as well as intimate knowledge of the greater part of the habitable globe, and your facilities of rapid transit

from one quarter of it to another, make it scarcely possible for you to carry yourselves back in imagination to the time when the same knowledge and the same facilities did not exist. You cast your eye upon the map, and refer with readiness to countries in either hemisphere, the names and products of which are as familiar to you as the fields and villages of your own native land. Many of them belong to the mighty empire of which you are citizens. From almost all of them, you derive materials which excite your industry, or minister to your comfort. You employ, likewise, with perfect composure, every day, for the purposes of business or of pleasure, the means of transport from place to place, which, if they had been described to you but a few years since, would have appeared strange and unreal as the fabled stories of Arabian enchantment. You dart through hills. You fly across valleys. You cleave the wave right onwards, in spite of the resistance of tide and wind. Over land and over sea, you still hold on your course, with a strength that knows no weariness, and with a swiftness that well nigh outstrips the bird's most rapid flight, or the hurricane in its wildest sweep. You reckon safely upon reaching countries far distant from your own,

in fewer days than were the weeks required by your fathers. You travel eastward, and, crossing the German Ocean and the Baltic, land at St. Petersburg in eight days. You travel westward, and, in twelve days, you have left the wide Atlantic behind you, and are walking in the streets of Halifax, or New York. Or, you enter upon a southern voyage, and a fortnight sees you in Alexandria, and four weeks more in India. Within what limits are you to be confined? Let but a little more skill and force be added to these wonderful instruments of human power, and you may think, that, as fairy messengers, you shall be ready even to do the bidding of King Oberon; that, putting

‘ a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes,’

you may fetch him the ‘little western flow’r’
for which he calls,

‘ and be’ back ‘ again,
Ere the leviathan can swim a league¹.’

True, the knowledge of many of these facilities of transit is coeval with your own day, and that, too, the day of not the oldest

¹ Shakspeare’s *Midsummer-Night’s Dream*, Act ii. Sc. ii.

among you. I have adverted to the fact just now ; and I state it again. But, true though it be, is it not equally true that these marvellous inventions have ceased to surprise you any longer by their novelty ; and that you are already beginning to forget that you ever lived without them ?

Now, it is just this very proneness of man to judge every thing by the standard of his present condition, only or chiefly, and to think but little of the process, howsoever long and arduous, through which it has been arrived at, which hinders him from estimating aright the steps of the process itself. "Other men" have "laboured, and ye are entered into their labours." And hence, reaping "that whereon ye bestowed no labour²," you count as nothing the cost of that labour. The particulars of it, indeed, may be set before you, and you may admit the description to be correct ; yet, as you never contributed time, or money, or any one energy of body or of mind towards it, it is doubtful whether an actual and true impression of the difficulties that have been overcome can be received by you ; or, if it be, the impression is soon obliterated. You

² John iv. 38.

dwelt not upon the means, so long as you have possession of the end. Let but the gift be enjoyed, and the giver is soon forgotten.

You must shake off, therefore, this absorbing love of self, if you would desire to do justice to the character of him who was

‘by Heaven design’d
To lift the veil that cover’d half mankind’.

You must keep out of sight your present advantages, and throw yourselves, as far as you can, into the position in which the civilized world was, when the son of the wool-comber of Genoa first ventured forth from that port, as a boy, on board a humble trading vessel, across the Mediterranean Sea. Its waves had washed the borders of the greatest empires of the world. The might of Assyria and her conqueror Persia, the wisdom of Egypt, the commerce of Phœnicia and her daughter Carthage, the genius of Greece, the energy and majesty of Rome, had all of them, in succession, caused their power to be felt in countries limited by that sea. Scarcely any knowledge of the countries beyond it had been acquired, during the many centuries in which these empires had

³ Rogers's Poems : The Voyage of Columbus, Canto i.

been rising and passing away. The knowledge of astronomy, indeed, by whose laws, in their more perfect form, the navigator is now directed in his course, was part of the rich inheritance of the ancients: and COLUMBUS himself could not have anticipated, with greater accuracy, the coming of an eclipse,—as we shall find afterwards that he did, to the astonishment and terror of the native Indians,—than did Thales, the philosopher of Miletus⁴. Neither had the spirit of enterprise been wanting in those days. In spite of all the disadvantages that encumbered them, Phœnician mariners had passed into the Atlantic, explored a portion of Western Africa, and discovered the Fortunate, or, as they are now called, the Canary Isles, which lie nearest to that coast, yet distant a hundred and fifty miles from it. From the opposite quarter, too, other voyagers, of the same nation, had not only sailed frequently down the Red Sea, and brought back the riches of Tarshish and Ophir to Syrian and European marts; but once, at the command of Necho, had coasted along

⁴ Herod. i. 74. A battle between the Medes and Lydians is there said to have been suddenly terminated by an eclipse of the sun, which Thales had foretold to the Ionians should come to pass in that very year, B. C. 590.

the Eastern and Southern shores of Africa, with the view of sailing completely round that vast continent. For two years, it is said, they persevered in the attempt; landing, at certain seasons, to sow the seed of their future provision; and, then, after they had reaped the harvest, proceeding on their course. In the third year, they passed up the Western coast of Africa, and, returning by the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt, accomplished the object of their expedition. This story, I am aware, has been disbelieved by some; but, I believe, the balance of argument lies much in favour of its being deemed authentic⁵. At all events, the fact which Herodotus, in his candour, alleges as a reason for doubting its correctness,—namely, that, in sailing round Libya, the Phœnicians

⁵ For the arguments against it, see Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, v. 170, &c. One of the reasons which he brings forward to prove that no Phœnician or other navigator had ever doubled the Southern promontory of Africa, is the fiction of Camoens, who makes the Spirit of the Cape assure the Portuguese that they had been the first to disturb his 'lonesome reign.' 'I will take the ghost's word,' adds Gibbon, 'for a thousand pounds!' It cannot, of course, be supposed that he should have advanced such an argument in any other spirit than that of banter. But he who discusses such a question, in such a spirit, can scarcely expect that much credit should attach to his opinion.

had the sun upon their right hand,—proves its truthfulness⁶. For, to the inhabitants of the Southern hemisphere, the sun would appear in an opposite quarter of the heavens from that in which we of the North behold it.

Still the progress of discovery was slow, and continued to be slow, throughout many succeeding ages. Notwithstanding that Alexander had descended from Persia with his conquering armies, and entered those rich valleys of the Punjab, which are now the battle-field between the Sikhs and British troops; notwithstanding that Rome had made those provinces of Europe her tributaries, which now are independent and powerful kingdoms; yet neither Greek nor Roman cared for the countries lying beyond the borders of their own dominions. The existence of them was either not known, or else they were despised, as the abodes of helpless and insignificant barbarians. The territory of the Roman lord constituted, in his judgment, and according to his speech, the whole world. And none of his many subjects were deemed more entirely outcast, or separated by a

⁶ Herod. iv. 42.

wider interval, from the rest of the inhabitants of earth, than our own ancestors, the children of despised Britain '.

But I have spoken of the commerce of Phœnicia, and the conquests of Alexander. I advert to them again, as I proceed, because they were the immediate causes of drawing the attention of Europe to those regions of the East which supplied the chief incentives to all future enterprise. From India were transmitted,—in the first instance, through Egypt, and afterwards by the sea-coast of Syria,—the gems and ivory, the silks and perfumes, which ministered to the luxuries of Rome under her earliest emperors. Again, in after-ages, when the glory and strength of Rome had fallen, and Constantinople had become the capital of the Greek empire, India was still the source from which that city derived the richest materials of her commerce. And, during the time of the crusades, when Pisa, and Genoa, and Venice multiplied their fleets, it was still the productions of Asiatic countries which formed

' *Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.*

HOR. Od. Lib. i. xxxv. 29.

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

VIRG. Ecl. i. 67.

their most important cargoes, and furnished the staple of their most costly manufactures. The hopes and expectations thus raised, and the curiosity thus excited, were but stimulated into quicker action by the reports of the same countries, which Marco Polo in the thirteenth, and Sir John Mandeville in the fourteenth century, brought home to Europe. And to discover a passage to this rich storehouse of the East, was the problem constantly present to the minds of the geographers and mariners of that day. The discovery of the mariner's compass, and the application of the astrolabe to the purposes of navigation,—coeval with the same period,—supplied fresh facilities for the solution of the problem. And, keeping the same object in view, the rulers of Portugal,—of whom, in this respect, Prince Henry was the most distinguished,—sent forth, in the fifteenth century, their adventurous subjects along the Western coast of Africa, until they had reached its furthest promontory to the South, and changed its name from the Cape of Storms to the Cape of Good Hope.

Whilst these expeditions were in progress, the thought of reaching India in an opposite direction,—by the passage of the Atlantic Westward,—had filled the mind of CHRISTO-

PHER COLUMBUS. And, before the tidings were brought back to Europe that the 'Good Hope,' announced by Portuguese mariners, was realized, and that Vasco de Gama had indeed found the course to India around that Southern Cape, COLUMBUS had caused the Spanish flag to wave upon the shores of the Western hemisphere⁸.

He was then in the full strength of manhood⁹; having passed his life, from the age

⁸ I have taken the liberty of repeating, in the greater part of the last two paragraphs, the words already employed by me upon the same subject in the sixth chapter of my History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire. I need scarcely remind the reader, who wishes for a more minute description of events which I have been obliged to comprise within a few lines, that he will find it given nowhere with greater fidelity and clearness than in the first book of Robertson's History of America. Some further particulars respecting the Portuguese discoveries in Africa, and the character of Prince Henry, are to be found in the first and second chapters of 'The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen,'—a most valuable and interesting work, of which the first volume has been lately published.

⁹ In the history of the Life of COLUMBUS written by his son Fernando, and a translation of which may be found in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 562, a letter from him to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1501 is given, in which he states that he had been engaged forty years in a sea-faring life; and, in another document also cited there, he says, that he went to sea at the age of fourteen. He must have been born, therefore, according to these testimonies, in 1447;

of fourteen, amid the perils and occupations of the sea, or in studying the history of discoveries which other navigators had made. His early education had enabled him, in some degree, to prosecute such enquiries with success ; but his untiring energy and zeal much more. Having learnt, as a boy, at the University of Pavia, the Latin tongue, and the rudiments of geography, astronomy, geometry, and drawing, he had suffered no opportunity to pass by unimproved, which could extend the knowledge of them. His skill in practical navigation had been acquired and maintained by constant exercise. Sailing, sometimes, from port to port, along the shores of the Levant, and Adriatic, and other parts of the Mediterranean, for the purposes of trade ; at other times, engaging in conflict with African pirates, or with Venetian, or Catalonian, cruizers ; or, stretching out to the frozen waters of the North, and visiting the coasts of Iceland, in quest of new adventures ; he had become familiar with danger and vicissitude. Sagacity, courage,

and been nearly forty years of age, when he made known his project to the Courts of Portugal and Spain. See Robertson's *Notes and Illustrations*, i. 358. Washington Irving, in his *History of COLUMBUS*, i. 5, dates his birth ten years earlier, but not, I think, upon equally good authority.

patience had, each of them, been strengthened within him by past trials ; and already was his mind teeming with the expectation of future triumphs.

Thus trained and full of hope, COLUMBUS lands at Lisbon, when twenty-three summers, or a little more, had passed over his head ¹. He mingles in the crowd of strangers who, filled with eager curiosity on account of the discoveries which, they heard, had been made under the flag of Portugal, were quickly resorting to the capital of that country. He listens to the theories of learned philosophers, and the exploits of adventurous mariners ; and shares the wonder with which all men regarded the success that had already followed the bold, yet wise, counsels of Prince Henry. That Prince was now no more ². But the impulse, which he had given to the spirit of maritime discovery, was followed by his grand-nephew, John II., the successor of Alphonso on the throne of Portugal ; and Lisbon continued

¹ Washington Irving states, that COLUMBUS arrived in Lisbon about 1470, i. 40 ; and, according to the dates supplied in the previous note, he would then have been twenty-three.

² He died in 1463. Washington Irving assigns that event, I know not upon what authority, to the year 1473. i. 37.

still the centre of attraction to all who felt an interest in the renewal and progress of such expeditions. One of the captains of Prince Henry,—the successful issue of whose voyages he had been accustomed to look for, with intense solicitude, from his tower upon the promontory of Sagres,—was Bartholomew Perestrello. The Prince had given to him Porto Santo,—an island not far from Madeira,—to inhabit and to govern. And Donna Felipa, daughter of Perestrello, becomes, after her father's death, the wife of COLUMBUS. The charts and journals and other documents belonging to the deceased captain are placed, by his widow, in the hands of her son-in-law. He eagerly examines them, and rests not until he obtains further information touching the places of which they speak. The Cape de Verd Isles, lying three hundred miles Westward of the African promontory which bears that name,—the Azores, lying yet further to the North and West,—Madeira, and the Canaries,—the settlements in Guinea, and other portions of the coast of Africa,—are either visited by him in person, or else become better known to him by the reports which he receives respecting them,

whilst he resides at Porto Santo with his wife³. Almost all of them had been discovered, within the limits of his own life, by adventurous Portugal, whilst she was seeking for a passage to the East. And COLUMBUS, as he gazes upon the Atlantic, feels that across its deep waters another pathway might be found to the same wished-for region.

Vain and presumptuous project! So judged the professed masters of science respecting it in that day. But listen to the arguments by which COLUMBUS is led to cherish his design, and, cherishing, to mature it, and to demonstrate its reality to the world⁴. He believes the truth which geographers, for many years, had taught, that the lands and

³ Robertson states that he traded with all these places, i. 86; but there does not seem sufficient ground for such a statement. Fernando Columbus, for instance, in the Life of his father already referred to, hesitates to affirm that he went to Guinea, although he admits it to have been probable. Churchill's *Voyages*, ii. 565.

⁴ These arguments are given at length in the sixth and four following chapters of the above Life of COLUMBUS. His son Fernando introduces them with the following sentence, which bespeaks its truthfulness: 'That it may appear from what mean arguments he came to deduce or make out so vast an undertaking, and to satisfy many who are desirous to know particularly, what motives induced him to discover these countries, and expose himself in so dangerous an undertaking, I will here set what I have found in his papers relating to this affair.' *Ib.*

seas of this earth compose a globe, round which its inhabitants may travel. He takes the division of its circumference into three hundred and sixty degrees,—as it had been laid down by Hipparchus, about a century and a half before, and by Ptolemy about a century and a half after, the commencement of the Christian era,—and believing, according to the Ptolemaic theory, that the heavens revolved round the earth once in twenty-four hours, he adopts, of course, the conclusion already drawn, that a space of fifteen degrees of the earth's circumference is passed over by the heavens every hour, because fifteen is the twenty-fourth part of three hundred and sixty. Then, turning to the map of Marinus, of Tyre, who preceded Ptolemy by a short time, he sees that the portion of the world, there laid down as known to the ancients, from East to West, comprised a space of two hundred and twenty-five degrees, or such as would occupy a period of fifteen hours, whilst the heavens revolved round it. The discoveries, made in his own day still further to the West, had extended the known world in that direction one degree more ; so that the whole space from East to West then consisted of two hundred and forty degrees, or such as would be passed over in

sixteen hours by the heavens. There remained, therefore, one-third of the circumference of the globe to be accounted for. On the East was India, whose boundaries in that direction had never yet been known to Europe. On the West was the Atlantic Ocean, upon whose farthest coast no mariner from Europe had ever set his foot. That coast certainly existed. It might with diligence be discovered. COLUMBUS believes it to be the limit of the Indian continent.

It is no argument against the wisdom of the process by which he was led to this belief, to say that the maps of Marinus and of Ptolemy are disfigured by many and glaring errors⁵. Neither does it impugn the judgment of COLUMBUS, to remember the principle which the arguments and discoveries of Galileo, Kepler, and Newton, have now established, that it is not the revolution of the heavens from East to West, which causes the divisions of day and night, but the revolution of the earth, upon its own axis, from West to East; and that, instead of the earth being at rest in the centre of the universe, the earth and all the other planets of the firmament revolve, in their respective

⁵ See the able Article on Geography in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, seventh edition.

orbits, and in regular periods, around the sun, as their common centre. Whether the dimensions of the Mediterranean, or any other part of the world then known, were given accurately upon the map or not; whether the real movement of the earth in one direction, or the apparent movement of the heavens in another, be taken as elements in his calculation, the result arrived at by COLUMBUS is still the same. Nay, they who are the first to recognize the authority of those laws by which Newton demonstrates that the universe is governed, nevertheless, use in common parlance a language which implies a contrary belief. We all speak, for instance, of the sun rising in the East, and setting in the West, as though the Ptolemaic theory were still acknowledged to be the only true one. And the foremost of American orators in our day has employed, to the like effect, his words of glowing eloquence, to illustrate the present magnitude of the British Empire. He describes it as 'a power to which Rome, in the height of her glory, was not to be compared,—a power, which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts,—whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles

the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of its martial airs *.

And who, among the sons of men, supplied this distinguished citizen of the Western world with the materials of his description? Is it not he who, conscious that to the civilized nations of the earth in his day two-thirds only of its circumference were known, and that the rest was an utter blank, seeks for, and gives unto the unknown tract an existence and a name? 'Following' in his imagination 'the sun, and keeping company with the hours,' he bridges over the gulf that was deemed impassable; brings into one the tribes that had been for ages separate; and opens a channel for the transmission of sounds far more blessed than that of the 'morning drum-beat,'—even a channel, through which the swift-winged messengers of God's Providence may 'circle the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken' exhibition of His mercies to every family of the human race.

And yet another evidence is there, inducing COLUMBUS to believe that, beyond the Western waters of the Atlantic, a new world may be discovered; and that is the number

* Webster's Speeches, quoted in Sir Richard Bonycastle's Newfoundland, ii. 226.

of intimations, howsoever vague and obscure, to be found in ancient authors that such a world existed. His son has set down the notices which he found in his father's papers upon the subject. Aristotle, Seneca, Pliny, Strabo, are all cited as witnesses; their theories, and, sometimes, their words, are quoted⁷; and the conclusion is, in a greater or less degree, confirmed by every one of them, that not only was it possible to sail 'Westward to the Eastern bounds of India,' but that the distance was less than it really

⁷ For instance, the remarkable words which Seneca has put into the mouth of his chorus in the *Medea* :

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

I observe that Washington Irving attaches much importance to these words of Seneca, citing them as an instance to show 'how nearly the warm imagination of a poet may approach to prophecy;' and saying that 'the predictions of the ancient oracles were rarely so unequivocal,' iv. 315. It is well known, also, that Collins, one of the Deistical writers of this country in the last century, has brought forward the same passage as a means of invalidating the authority of Divine Prophecy. The reader, who wishes for a brief, clear, and satisfactory refutation of the reasoning employed by Collins, will find it in Faber's *Difficulties of Infidelity*, 96—108.

is. The Atalantis spoken of by Plato, and other testimonies of Diodorus Siculus and Ammianus Marcellinus*,—although the latter are not cited in that same passage,—were probably known to him who was then searching in every direction for evidence to support the theory which possessed his mind. At all events, in the existence of those already mentioned, COLUMBUS had reason enough to feel hope wax stronger within him; and, animated as that hope was yet further by the recent reports of Marco Polo and of Mandeville, it is no wonder that he should have sought for more assistance from learned men. With this view, through the medium of a citizen of Florence, residing at Lisbon, he opens a correspondence with Paulo, a physician of the former city; and from him too receives cheering information and counsel[†].

But the chain of argument is not yet complete. Whilst COLUMBUS is arranging those parts of it, to which I have already referred,

* The two latter testimonies are given in the above-cited work of Faber.

† Washington Irving states, i. 56, that this correspondence was begun in 1574, and that Paulo then transmitted to him the letter previously written to Martinez, a Canon of Lisbon. But a reference to Churchill, ii. 568, will show that the letter to Martinez was written in 1574. That to COLUMBUS was probably of a later date.

he hears from a Portuguese pilot, that he had picked up at sea, four hundred and fifty leagues West of Cape St. Vincent,—and after the wind had been blowing many days from the West,—a piece of wood, curiously wrought, but not with iron. Again, he hears from his brother-in-law, that, at Porto Santo, another like piece of wood had been discovered, and huge canes, such as never grew in European countries, and like those which Ptolemy had described as the product of an Indian soil and climate. All these had, in like manner, drifted to the shore with a West wind. Some inhabitants of the Azores also inform him, that, after a long continuance of strong West winds, pines were driven upon those islands of a character totally different from those which grew upon them; and that once the bodies of two dead men had been cast upon the shore, whose faces were ‘very broad, and different in aspect from the Christians.’ Other rumours too reached COLUMBUS of islands having been actually seen West of the Azores. But to these he attached no credit, any more than to some of the fabled stories of antiquity; believing that the propagators of them had been deceived by the appearance of rocks or floating masses of trees intermingled with earth and light

porous stone, which they had mistaken for islands. COLUMBUS was as cautious as he was resolute ; as little capable of being led away by idle stories, as of abandoning a project which, he believed, rested upon the foundation of truth.

And here, let me avail myself, for a moment, of the words of one who has spoken upon the subject which now engages our thoughts, not only with authority, but with a wisdom and generosity which reflect honour alike upon him and upon the University within whose precincts they were first uttered. It is Professor Smythe, to whose remarks I wish you to listen.

‘ It is surely curious to observe,’ he says, ‘ the wavering and unexpected streams of light that penetrated through the great mass of darkness that lay before the contemplation of COLUMBUS ; the strange mixture of ancient authority and of modern report, of fable and fact, of truth and falsehood, out of which this enthusiastic, yet reasonable, projector was to create, as well as he could, conclusions convincing to himself, and, if possible, satisfactory to others.

‘ But it is not only curious, but useful ; that we may learn to understand the workings of the human mind in extraordinary situations, surrounded by conjectures and possibilities, fair deductions, and mistaken inferences ; and wandering, as it were, alone and unprotected over the doubtful confines of the reason and the imagination.

‘In this manner, we may be taught the respect that is always due to the suggestions and plans, however wild and imperfect they may at first appear, of schemers and projectors of every description—men often of original and powerful minds, who must be listened to with patience, and soothed and assisted by our calmer reflections, not ridiculed or repelled by indifference and scorn. Every encouragement ought always to be afforded to creative genius; and, amid a world where every thing may be obtained by enterprise, and nothing without it, no chance should be lost for the accommodation of our nature, and the progress of human prosperity¹.’

The project of COLUMBUS was now sufficiently matured to claim the attention and support of those whose aid was necessary to accomplish it. He proposed it, in the first instance, it is said, to the citizens of his native Genoa. No mention, indeed, is made of this fact in his life by Fernando; but the statement depends upon good authority². And nothing is more probable than that he should have addressed such a proposition to his countrymen. The same affectionate piety, which prompted him,—as we learn

¹ Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, ii. 84, 85.

² Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias Occid.* dec. i. lib. i. c. vii. quoted by Robertson, i. 95. Washington Irving, strangely enough, omits all notice of this powerful testimony, and merely says that the story of the proposition having been made to Genoa ‘has been strongly asserted.’ i. 78.

from other indisputable testimony³,—to send assistance, out of his own scanty means, to his aged father and family at Genoa, would naturally have led him to secure, for that place of his birth, the first-fruits of the honour and profit which might result from the realization of his plans.

But Genoa rejects the proposition of the noblest of her sons. He then submits it to the King of Portugal, the country which had been to him, for many years, a second home. A council is convened; the question is discussed among its members; different opinions are expressed; the majority condemn the project⁴. Yet, although this is done, the King attempts, by a disgraceful stratagem, to rob COLUMBUS of all that was due to him; and equips a caravel, for the Cape de Verd Islands, with secret instructions to attempt that very passage of the Atlantic, which his council had declared to be impracticable. But the work was not to be accomplished 'by men who had only stolen the idea of it'. Having beaten about for many days in vain, and seen nothing but the broad waste of waters before

³ Munoz, *Hist. del N. Mundo*, l. ii. quoted by Washington Irving, i. 43.

⁴ An interesting account of the different speeches then delivered is given by Washington Irving, i. 80—86.

⁵ *The Conquerors of the New World, &c.*, ut sup. 84.

them, they returned to Lisbon, deriding as chimerical the enterprise which they lacked the spirit to achieve.

The spirit of COLUMBUS is vexed at this unrighteous treatment. His wife was already dead. The strongest link, therefore, of the chain which had bound him to the land of Portugal was broken. He quickly casts off the rest ; and, with Diego, his only child, seeks for another country, which shall listen to his scheme with more frank, and generous, and confiding spirit.

He repairs to Genoa, and offers to her, once more, the opportunity of retrieving her lost fortunes by sailing, under her flag, to the India, which he already possessed in his imagination, across the Western Ocean. A second time, the offer is declined by his native republic.

The date of his departure from Lisbon is assigned to the year 1484 ; prior to which period, he had sent his brother Bartholomew to England to obtain the support of her King, Henry VII.* But the hope of assistance from that quarter is defeated by the reverses

* According to a note quoted from Las Casas by Washington Irving, i. 92, Bartholomew Columbus did not make his application to Henry until 1488 ; but according to Fernando's History, the map which he presented to the King is dated 1480. Churchill's Voyages, ii. 575.

and delays which his brother met with, before he obtained admission even to the court of the English sovereign.

And now, the scene changes to Palos, a small sea-port of Andalusia, a province in the South of Spain. At the gate of a Franciscan convent, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida, and distant about half a league from Palos, a stranger, travelling on foot, one day, appears, and begs a little bread and water for himself and for the boy that is with him. The Prior of the convent observes them, as they were taking their humble food ; and enters into conversation with the father of the lad. He listens to his story ; and hears of strange, yet noble, impulses stirring the heart of that poor wayfaring man. He keeps him as a guest in the convent ; and sends for his friend, the physician of Palos, that he may share the wonder and interest awakened in himself. They both become willing learners of the mysteries which the stranger reveals to them. They feel that he is opening a way to knowledge more intimately affecting the destinies of the human race, than any which the world had ever yet received, save from the Spirit of God. Need I add, that it is COLUMBUS who now fills the minds of these men with such

high thoughts? They desire to speed him onwards. Let him repair forthwith to the court at Cordova, where the sovereigns of Spain were marshalling their armies to drive out Moorish foes from their last stronghold in Granada. The Franciscan Prior has, in the confessor of Queen Isabella, a friend, who, he is assured, will promote the enterprise. Through that channel, her sympathies, and the sympathies of her royal consort Ferdinand, shall be enlisted in its behalf. Let COLUMBUS, therefore, go up with a good hope. As for the lad, he shall tarry, and be protected in the convent, until his father return.

It is the spring of 1486, when COLUMBUS sets out upon this mission. But, for a time, he meets no welcome. The confessor of Isabella thinks scorn of his project. The sovereigns are occupied with war and conquest. No time remains for enquiry or reflection upon any other matter. And so the months of summer and autumn pass away. Yet COLUMBUS is resolute and patient; gaining his livelihood, as he best can, by drawing maps and charts; and, where he can find men to listen to him, detailing the scheme which he had fashioned in his mind. At length, he wins his way with friends whom

his earnest and noble spirit gathered around him ; obtains, through their favour, an audience of the sovereigns ; and a council of learned men is summoned, by royal command, at Salamanca, to consider, and report upon, his plan.

Behold then the most accomplished theologians, the most distinguished professors of astronomy, geography, mathematics, whom Spain could furnish, assembled in the hall of the Dominican convent in that city ! COLUMBUS enters into their presence, and pleads his cause, with all the confidence of a man who feels that God had given unto him 'the spirit of understanding' and skill', in the matter upon which he speaks. But he finds men, whose ignorance had made common cause with their prejudices, determined to oppose him at every step. 'How is it possible,' ask some, 'since so many thousand years had passed from the creation of the world, and skilful mariners had never found countries to the West, that COLUMBUS should have more knowledge than them?' 'The figure of the earth,' say others, 'cannot be spherical. Its appearance shows it be, what it

⁷ He states that this was his conviction, in his letter to the Spanish sovereigns in 1501 before quoted. Churchill's Voyages, ii. 563.

really is, a flat surface. Moreover, the Psalmist declares of God, that He spreadeth "out the heavens like a curtain;" and the Apostle compares heaven to "the holy place" of "the first tabernacle," and asserts, that "Christ, being come an High Priest of good things to come, is entered into" it, "now to appear in the presence of God for us":—expressions, which evidently prove that the earth, over which the curtain, or tabernacle, of heaven is thus extended, must be flat.' Lactantius too, they affirm, and Augustine, had signally exposed the folly and presumption of those who, believing the world to be a globe, argued that there were persons, called antipodes, who, living on the other side of it, had their feet diametrically opposite to ours. 'How could people,' they asked, 'walk with their heels upward and their heads hanging down? How could there be any part of the world in which all things are topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward?' Thus had the Fathers

^{*} Ps. civ. 2. Heb. ix. 8. 12. 24.

[†] This is part of a passage of Lactantius quoted by Washington Irving, i. 123. The fourth chapter of Irving's second Book, and the twelfth chapter of Fernando's History, have been my guides in describing the proceedings of the Council of Salamanca.

put to shame the theories of rash innovators in their day ; and it were impiety again to provoke their rebuke. 'Granted,' says a third class of objectors, 'granted, that the earth is spherical : yet, who can suppose it possible that any navigator can sail round it ? The heat of the torrid zone is insupportable ; and, even if that were passed, yet the voyage must take up not less than three years ; and how can a store of provisions, sufficient for so long a period, be carried in any ship ?' But the opponents of COLUMBUS have not yet exhausted their objections. 'What ? go out,' they cry again, 'from one hemisphere to another ?' You may do so, indeed. But, you will find it 'impossible to return ;' for it will 'be like climbing a hill, which ships could not do with the stiffest gale '.

So argued the sages of Salamanca. And in vain did COLUMBUS plead with them. It was in vain that he solved their objections,—'in vain,' to use the emphatic language of Professor Smythe,

'that this Hercules, in the infancy of his fame, strangled the serpents that hissed around his cradle. He retired—he was obliged to retire. Five years were to be wasted in these fruitless endeavours to satisfy

¹ Churchill's *Voyages*, ii. 576.

and inform these arbiters of his fate; and he was then to be dismissed with a civil rejection of his proposals².'

But help is yet in store for COLUMBUS, in the very quarter from which he had first received encouragement to repair to the Spanish Court. He returns to the monastery of La Rabida, sick and wearied with disappointment. It seemed vain to follow any longer the movements of the court from Salamanca to Cordova³, or from Cordova to the

² Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, ii. 86.

³ It is said, that, during the first visit of COLUMBUS to Cordova, he formed an attachment with a lady of noble family, Beatrice Enriquez, by whom he had a son Fernando, whose history of his father's Life and Voyages has been so often referred to. Washington Irving states that 'his connexion with this lady is wrapped in obscurity;' and that 'it does not appear to have been sanctioned by marriage,' i. 145. I should be glad to find that future enquiries may clear away this obscurity, and prove that COLUMBUS was actually married to the mother of Fernando. His character is too precious a portion of the inheritance left to us by former ages, and the evidences of his earnest piety and integrity are too numerous and clear, not to awaken in us a feeling of sorrow, that, at any period of his life, any stain should have been cast upon it. It is remarkable that Fernando employs language which implies, and so far encourages the belief, that there was no distinction between his brother Diego, the legitimate son of COLUMBUS, and himself. Speaking of his father's desire to renew his application to the Court of Spain, he says that 'he now looked upon himself as a natural born Spaniard, because he had so long resided there, whilst he was following his project; and because he had got children there, &c.' Churchill's Voyages, ii. 577.

camp at Malaga, and thence to Saragossa and Seville; for the 'pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,' and the many other occurrences of that eventful period, engaged alike the minds of sovereigns and of subjects. He meets no where with any to welcome him, or sustain his hope. Even the very children, it is said, were taught to point to their foreheads as he passed, in token of the prevalent belief that he was mad⁴. He feels it useless, therefore, to stem the current of prejudice and folly any longer; and resolves to leave Spain, and offer to some other country the discovery of that New World, which the first maritime nations of the Old appeared to hold so cheap.

But the good Prior, who, during the long years of the father's absence, had ceased not to protect and befriend his son Diego, will not suffer COLUMBUS to depart. He persuades him to make one trial more. Nay, he saddles his own mule, and journeys forth secretly, before midnight, to the head-quarters of the royal army, now about to renew its last assault against the walls of Granada. He seeks, and obtains, an interview with Queen Isabella, to whom he had been, in former

⁴ Life, &c., by Washington Irving, i. 133.

years, confessor; and receives her permission to summon COLUMBUS again into her presence. COLUMBUS arrives in time to see Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, yield up the keys of the Alhambra to the united Sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, and the Spanish banner planted upon its highest tower. He soon receives directions, from those who were in the confidence of the Court, to state the conditions upon which he is prepared to undertake his enterprise. The conditions are, that he be appointed Admiral and Viceroy over the countries which he should discover, and receive a tenth of all the profits which might accrue from trade or conquest; in return for which, he offers to bear an eighth portion of the expense. Such conditions are received with indignation and scorn, by those who already looked upon COLUMBUS as an insane and reckless schemer; and, finding it impossible to induce him to relax aught of the demands which he believed to be just, they persuade Isabella to withdraw from him the countenance which she had given. Seeing, therefore, that his proposals were again spurned, and his hopes scattered to the winds, COLUMBUS sets out upon his solitary journey to Cordova, intending to proceed thence to France. But

he had not travelled two leagues from Granada, before he is overtaken by a messenger of the Queen, summoning him to return. His friends had been pleading with her on his behalf, and had succeeded in awakening once more within her the impulses of a generous sympathy and a noble resolution. The King, indeed, knew little of such feelings. His exhausted treasury was, in his judgment, reason enough to decline entering upon a new, and perilous, and uncertain experiment. But, rather than it should be abandoned, Isabella expresses her willingness to pledge even her jewels to defray its charges. The arrangement ultimately made did not require this sacrifice upon her part. But with entire sincerity did she make the offer; and her conduct, ever afterwards, showed that she was actuated by the same spirit.

The conditions of COLUMBUS are now agreed to; and the royal decree goes forth, empowering him to equip, and take charge of, the vessels necessary for the expedition. But, before we trace its progress we must call attention to the existence of a feeling, which had long been at work within him, and was now become a fixed and permanent principle of action. This was the deep conviction, that he was about to be made an instrument to

execute the purposes of God's Providence, by opening a way through which the knowledge of His will should be communicated to the furthest regions of the earth. The prospect of such a glorious issue gave new strength and ardour to his hopes. He viewed the present and the future only through that medium ; and believed that the removal of every obstacle, which then hindered the progress of the Christian faith, would be the consummation of the work entrusted to his hands. Among the greatest of those obstacles was the power wielded by the numerous disciples of Mahomet. He had witnessed a striking evidence of its pride and insolence, during the siege of Granada, in the message then sent by the Soldan of Egypt to the Spanish Sovereigns, that, unless they desisted from the siege, he would put to death every Christian in his dominions, and destroy the Holy Sepulchre. From that moment, COLUMBUS sought and prayed more earnestly to find means through which the influence of the Crescent should give way to that of the Cross. The Sepulchre, which the Moslem threatened to destroy, he now longed to recover. The gold, which he was about to bring back from Mangi, Cipango, and Cathay, he believed, would be best devoted to the

accomplishment of that work. And, by the conversion of the empire of the Grand Khan, and of the other regions, now about to be laid open to the teaching of Christian Europe, he believed likewise, a free and glorious course would be secured to the Gospel of Christ throughout the whole world. These were the high hopes and counsels which filled the imagination of COLUMBUS. He spoke of them, in the presence of the Spanish Sovereigns, in the Court at Granada. He wrote them, in formal terms, at the head of the Journal of his first voyage. He constantly reverted to them, amid the perils and reverses of later years. He recorded them, as his dying injunction, in the words of his last Will⁵.

⁵ I subjoin the passages of his Will which prove his strong determination to make his discoveries and their results instrumental in promoting what he believed to be the chief glory of God. It begins thus: 'In the name of the most Holy Trinity, Who inspired me with the idea, and afterwards made it perfectly clear to me, that I could navigate and go to the Indies from Spain, by traversing the ocean Westwardly,' &c. The following clauses occur afterwards: 'Item, As it becomes every man of every rank and property to serve God, either personally or by means of his wealth, and as all moneys deposited with [the Bank of] St. George are quite safe, and Genoa is a noble city and powerful by sea, and as at the time that I undertook to set out upon the discovery of the Indies, it was with the intention of supplicating the King and Queen, our lords,

Any description of the character of COLUMBUS would be imperfect, which did not include the notice of this important element. The contemplation of the particular objects which, I have just said, he proposed to him-

that whatever moneys should be derived from the said Indies should be invested in the conquest of Jerusalem, and as I did so supplicate them, if they do this, it will be well; if not, at all events the said Diego, [his son,] or such person as may succeed him in this trust, to collect together all the money he can, and accompany the King our lord, should he go to the conquest of Jerusalem, or else go there himself with all the force he can command; and in pursuing this intention, it will please the Lord to assist towards the accomplishment of the plan; and should he not be able to effect the conquest of the whole, no doubt he will achieve it in part. Let him, therefore, collect and make a fund of all his wealth in St. George of Genoa, and let it multiply there till such time as it may appear to him that something of consequence may be effected as respects the project on Jerusalem; for I believe, that when their highnesses shall see that this is contemplated, they will wish to realize it themselves, or will afford him, as their servant and vassal, the means of doing it for them.—Item, I also order Diego my son, or whomsoever may inherit after him, to spare no pains in having and maintaining in the island of Hispaniola four good professors of theology, to the end and aim of their studying and labouring to convert to our holy faith the inhabitants of the Indies; and in proportion as, by God's will, the revenue of the estate shall increase, in the same degree, shall the number of teachers and devout persons increase, who are to strive to make Christians of the natives, in attaining which no expense should be thought too great.' Irving, iv. 415. 430. 434.

self might be visionary; but the principle, which taught him to aspire after them, was just and true. The Church, whose discipline he obeyed, and whose services he revered, might, —and, we believe, did,—usurp, with impious presumption, an authority which belongeth to God only, when, after the successful issue of the first voyage of COLUMBUS, she drew an imaginary line from pole to pole a hundred leagues Westward of the Azores, and awarded to Spain all the regions lying West of that line, as she had awarded, the Eastern hemisphere, a few years before, to Portugal⁶. But, as COLUMBUS had never been taught to question the validity of that fiat which issued from the Vatican, so the zeal and boldness, with which he strove to give effect to its decrees, can only command our admiration.

They, who boast that they are free from the errors and superstitions of the communion in which he was nurtured, will do well to emulate the zeal with which he, and so many others of its members, strove, in a former

⁶ The grant to Portugal was made by Pope Eugene IV., in the middle of the fifteenth century. That to Spain was given, in 1493, by Alexander VI., whom Robertson justly describes, as ‘a pontiff infamous for every crime which disgraces humanity.’

day,—and their successors are still striving, in our own,—to carry, to the most distant corners of the earth, the symbols of its faith.

Once more, the scene of our story changes to the port of Palos, and its neighbouring monastery of La Rabida. The Prior is seen rejoicing in the successful issue of the suit which he had sought so anxiously to promote, and joins with COLUMBUS in urging the mariners to prepare their vessels for the voyage. But they shrink back at first, one and all, from the adventure. Their dread of evils overwhelming them in the course upon which they are about to enter, is greater than any which the threats of rulers can excite. They will not, dare not, provoke them. At length, the example of Martin Pinzon, a navigator of high repute, who offers to take part in the expedition, encourages others to follow him. Three vessels are speedily, but imperfectly, made ready, in size not larger than the small craft which we see plying on rivers and along coasts in our own time⁷. Only one of them, the *Santa Maria*, which bore the flag of Co-

⁷ Irving's *Life*, &c., i. 181. iv. 233, &c. The small size of the vessels employed, at this time and long afterwards, in distant and perilous voyages, is not the least remarkable circumstance which attaches to their history. The vessel, for instance, in which Sir Humfrey Gilbert was lost, upon his return from Newfoundland in 1583,

LUMBUS, was decked throughout. The other two,—the Pinta, commanded by Martin Pinzon, and the Nina, by his brother Vicente Pinzon,—were open in the centre, with high bows and sterns. The number of all the three crews did not amount to more than ninety men⁸.

On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, before sunrise, COLUMBUS sets sail. He had, upon the previous day, in company with his officers and crews, received the Holy Communion from the hands of his faithful and firm friend, the Prior of the convent of La Rabida. And now, amid the tears and prayers of all the people of Palos, he begins

although dignified with the name of 'Frigat,' was a small boat of only ten tons burden. See Haies's Narrative in Hakluyt, iii. 184, &c.

⁸ Besides these, there were a physician and surgeon, private adventurers, and servants, amounting to thirty more. Irving's Life, &c., i. 184. It does not appear from the authorities cited by Robertson or Irving, that a minister of religion was on board any of the vessels. In this respect, the first expedition which left England after the Reformation, for the discovery of Cathay by the North-East Passage, appears in contrast favourable to our own Church and country. 'Master Richard Stafford, Minister,' accompanied Sir Hugh Willoughby, the commander of that disastrous expedition; and especial care was taken to provide on board the other ships the means of spiritual help and comfort. I have given, in the second chapter of my History of the Colonial Church, all the particulars furnished upon this subject by Hakluyt, i. 251, &c.

his voyage. He makes for the Canaries, in the first instance ; but even that brief portion of his course is not traversed without difficulty and delay. For the Pinta is soon found to be in a leaky state, and her rudder unfit for service. And COLUMBUS fears, not without cause, that this is to be taken as an evidence of the secret determination of many to frustrate his purposes, who were accompanying him against their will. More than three weeks elapse, at the Canaries, whilst he is seeking to repair present defects, and to guard against future evil ;—and, on the 4th of September, he resumes his course Westward.

The vessels move heavily, for there is hardly wind enough to stir their canvass. And when, after three days, the breeze sprang up, which carried them out of sight of the Isle of Ferro, the hearts of the mariners sank within them for very fear. They felt that the hour, which they had so much dreaded, was now come ; that they had taken their final leave of home and kindred, and were going they knew not whither. It is the first business, therefore, of COLUMBUS to reassure their spirits, and animate them by the hope of rich discoveries yet in store for them. He resorts also, from that day forward, to a plan,

which his superior skill in navigation enables him to effect without fear of detection, namely, that of keeping for his own guidance in private the true reckoning of the ships' course, and of exhibiting to the crews another, which made it appear shorter than it really was. And now, when they had already run a greater distance from the old world than any of its mariners had ever been known to reach, a strange phenomenon excites their wonder and alarm. The needle of the compass no longer points fixedly to the North. In the morning and at noon-day, it retains that position ; but, lo ! towards night-fall, it shifts half a point away from it. Their only guide then seemed ready to forsake them. And whither were they to turn for help ? Well might they be dismayed as they watched the startling fact thus, for the first time, presented to their view ! No man could then clearly discern or explain its cause. Nay, even to this hour, with all the appliances and means which extended science can command, its full solution remains yet to be discovered. But COLUMBUS, upon the instant, suggests that the variation of the needle was caused by the movement of the star to which it pointed ; an explanation, indeed, which we of the present day know cannot be received,

and of the truth of which he may not perhaps have been fully persuaded, even in his own mind, when he advanced it. But it seemed to him probable. Others could not contradict it. At all events, it encouraged the pilot to keep steadily his eye upon the compass, and his hand upon the helm, in the conviction that he was still steering a true course.

And now, behold,—as men are looking anxiously ahead for the land towards which the wind, without any cessation or change, has been wafting them for many days,—they see birds flying near them. The next day, they see masses of weeds floating upon the ocean, some of which bore marks of having been newly washed away from some rock or island. These daily increase in extent and thickness. Soon they cover the whole surface of the sea, as far as the eye can reach. The vessels can scarce make way through them ; and the crews are alarmed, lest the stories, which they had heard from ancient mariners, of vessels being arrested and fixed immoveably in their course, should be found no longer fabulous. But COLUMBUS bids them be of good cheer. The weeds, he says, are proofs that the land could not be far off. The birds, too, which flew above their heads in larger numbers

than before, confirm that belief. The sounding-line, therefore, is eagerly cast into the deep. But it finds no bottom. How, then, shall the men trust their Admiral any longer? He assures them that the object of their search is at hand; and yet they cannot grasp it. Each day, he feeds them with fresh hope; and each night, they find that hope has been a lying phantom. The wind too, for days and weeks has been blowing always in the same direction, away from home; and, how shall they ever hope to see Spain again? Provisions too must soon fall short; their poor frail barks might founder; and all would be lost. Why expose themselves any longer to such a desperate hazard? Why persist in following the guidance of a stranger and foreigner, whom their own learned men had pronounced to be a mad enthusiast? Why put to jeopardy their lives and fortunes at his bidding? Better at once to abandon the enterprise, to cast their leader overboard, and say, upon their return, that he had fallen by accident into the sea. It is the spirit, in fact, of deep discontent, of alarm, of mutiny, which spreads fast through their hearts. But, let it assume what shape it may, the spirit of resolution in COLUMBUS is mightier than theirs. With some, he reasons; others, he allures

with hopes ; the rest, he keeps in awe by the dread of instant chastisement.

Thus time wears on. It is the evening of the 25th of September, and the sun is about to set. The *Pinta* is sailing close to the *Santa Maria* ; and Martin Pinzon, her captain, had just flung on board the latter the chart which COLUMBUS had, a few days before, lent to him. COLUMBUS, his pilot, and some of his most trusty sailors, are poring anxiously over it, and tracing their position upon it ; when suddenly Pinzon, standing upon the highest stern of his ship, cries out, 'Land, land,' and points to it lying some leagues to the South-West. All re-echo the cry. COLUMBUS falls down upon his knees, and praises God ; and the exulting strains of *Gloria in excelsis* burst forth from the lips of officers and crews in both the ships. Instantly, their course is shifted to the South-West. All night long, it is pursued with eager and joyful hope. But, lo ! when morning comes, the land-like looking clouds upon the horizon have disappeared ; and nothing is to be seen but sea and sky.

Another month, October, has now opened upon the voyagers, and sees them still holding on the same Westward course. The pilot of the *Santa Maria* declares that they

had now run five hundred and seventy-eight leagues West of the Isle of Ferro. The pilot of the Nina makes the distance to be not more than five hundred and forty; whilst he of the Pinta affirms it to be six hundred and thirty-four. COLUMBUS gives it out to be five hundred and eighty-four leagues; but, by the reckoning which he had kept in private, he knows it to be not less than seven hundred and seven. But, ere three more days pass, the birds, whose movements had been so constantly and carefully observed, are seen no more: and, instantly, the disappointed mariners infer that they must have passed between the islands lying to the right hand and to the left, to which the birds had winged their varied flight; and entreat COLUMBUS that they should stand more to the Southward. But he will make no change. Again, the spirit of alarm and mutiny enters into the hearts of the sailors. But it is only for a moment. Fresh flights of birds dispel their perplexities, and reanimate their hopes. Impatient to discern the land, and to gain thereby the prize of thirty crowns, which the Spanish Sovereigns had promised should be given to the first discoverer, the men are eagerly looking out; and, mistaking each changeful object in the

cloud or upon the wave to be that which they coveted, renew constantly the cry of 'Land, land,' when there was none. COLUMBUS, to restrain this feverish and restless spirit, commands that not a single man, who repeated that cry, should be entitled to the reward,—even though he should afterwards prove the first discoverer,—unless the land were really made out within three days after that on which he said that he had seen it. The knowledge of this command keeps his own company silent. And when, at sunrise on the 7th of that month, they see something like land before them, none venture to speak, until they shall feel more assured of its reality. Not so the crew of the *Nina*. They press forward with quicker speed: and drawing, as they believe, more closely to the land, they hesitate not to fire the signal gun, and hoist their colours in token of the glorious result. All is again joy and hope. But again the clouds have cheated them; and, before night-fall, the most sanguine and courageous have lost all heart.

COLUMBUS now bends his course, for a time, to the South-West. Not that he is irresolute or vacillating; but because he believes that the flight of smaller field-birds, now seen in that direction, is a guide which he ought to

follow. But, after pursuing that new course for three days, and seeing no land, his crew break out once more in open mutiny, and insist upon returning home. He is firm as ever in resistance. But the stoutest heart must at last give way, beneath the repeated onset of overwhelming numbers. And such is now the trial of COLUMBUS.

In this his extremity of distress, help springs up. The men look over the ship's side, and see a green rush float by. They look again, and see fish sporting about which always love to be near rocks. At the same time, the mariners of the Pinta pick up a cane, a curiously wrought staff, a small board, and portions of weeds newly washed away from some shore. The crew of the Nina, too, discover the branch of a thorn newly broken off, with red berries clustering upon it. It is impossible that these tokens can any longer deceive them. Whatsoever other hopes had failed, those which are now excited must be substantial. The day is ready to close. COLUMBUS and his ship's company repeat their evening song of prayer and praise; and then, with grateful and devout heart, he bids them acknowledge the mercy of God, Who had thus wonderfully guided and protected them, and was now about to open

to them a New World. He bids them also be doubly watchful through the hours of that memorable night. For himself, he mounts the great cabin on the high stern of his ship, and looks intently onward. About ten o'clock, he thinks he sees a light on shore; and, calling to him a gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, bids him look in the same direction. He too sees the light. Another is sent for, and directed to look in like manner. But, by that time, the light had vanished. In a moment or two afterwards, they think that they can discern it still flickering and moving about. Many still doubted. Their painful experience had taught them to mistrust every thing. But COLUMBUS believes it to be, in very deed, the light of an inhabited shore. Slowly and cautiously the vessels move onward. The Pinta is ahead; and, at two in the morning, she fires her signal gun. COLUMBUS hears it, and believes it to be no longer, as it had been before, a vain announcement. He commands the vessels to lie to; and, when the morning's sun arose, sees the fair, green plain of a beautiful Island, with its trees and refreshing rivulets, stretched out before him.

A boat from each ship bears an eager company to shore. COLUMBUS is conspicuous

among them. Kneeling down upon the earth, and kissing it with tears of joy, they first bless God for His mercy ; and COLUMBUS,—rising, and giving to the Island the title of St. Salvador,—takes possession of it in the name of the Spanish Sovereigns whose flag he plants upon it⁹. His men then crowd around him, striving with each other who should pay to him the greatest honour, and beseeching him to pardon the madness with which they had resisted his will upon the voyage. Meanwhile, the natives,—who had fled, panic-stricken at the sight of the white men thus descending, as from another world, upon their coast,—come back, one by one, with cautious footsteps ; their curiosity being stronger than their fears ; and the gentle demeanour of the strangers winning them to confidence.

Would that this confidence had been never forfeited ! that the discoverers of the New

⁹ This Island is one of the Bahamas, that large and important group lying to the North-East of Cuba, and opposite the coast of Florida. Its native name is Guanahani ; that given to it by the English is Cat Island. Some have supposed that another of the same group, which bears the name of Turk's Island, and is a hundred leagues to the South-East, was that upon which COLUMBUS first landed. But Washington Irving has given a paper, supplied to him by an officer of the Navy of the United States, which clearly proves that idea to be erroneous. iv. 239, &c.

World had never become its tyrants ! that her rude inhabitants had never suffered the cruel wrongs inflicted upon them by civilized and Christian Europe !

But this is the story of another day.

Meanwhile, COLUMBUS believes that he has found the regions of which he had been in search ; looks upon the Island, upon which he had first set foot, as the outskirt of the Western Indies ; calls her children Indians ; and, leaving it to discover others, thinks,—as he sails from shore to shore, amid that clustering group,—that he is still winding his way among the Islands of the Indian Sea of which Marco Polo had written. Thus, St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, Isabella, each of them, in succession, he claims, by virtue of the titles then given to them, as portions of the Indian territory, which shall henceforward pay allegiance to none but Spain. And, hearing from the natives whom he had on board, that there was a land, stretching yet further to the South, which they called Cuba,—a good land and a large, and rich with gold, and gems, and spices,—he bends his course thither, nothing doubting but that it was the Cipango, or Japan, of whose treasures and commerce such wondrous tidings had been

brought to Europe. The beautiful and majestic scenery of that land was soon presented to his view. Its mountains and forests, its valleys and rivers, its villages scattered here and there along the coast, the reports brought to him by the men whom he sent to explore the interior, the information gathered from the natives whom he was carrying with him, all strengthen his belief that it is Cipango. If he rejects this belief, as he soon does, it is only to exchange it for another which animates his hopes yet more, but is not less fallacious,—namely, that he is, even then, upon the threshold of the great continent of India itself; and that the residence of the Grand Khan, the capital of rich Cathay, would soon be within his reach. He sends ambassadors with presents to propitiate the favour of the nearest prince, and awaits their return. Their report speedily assures him that no such prince as he, in his imagination, pictured to himself, held dominion in those parts. But the conviction remains unchanged within his breast, that he is still upon the confines of the great Asiatic empire. And every word which fell from the lips of his native guides, at all resembling in sound the names of those wealthy cities or provinces which Marco Polo had announced to Europe, is taken as an

additional testimony to prove that he was in the immediate neighbourhood of those places.

He holds, therefore, on his course, along the coast of Cuba, to the East and South-East. And here, one of his vessels, the *Pinta*, deserts him. Her captain, Martin Pinzon, is impatient to grasp the treasures which he believes are near ; and, heedless of the signal which COLUMBUS makes to him to shorten sail, avails himself of the superior powers of his vessel, and is soon out of sight.

COLUMBUS is now at the Eastern extremity of Cuba, or, as he thinks, of India. He sees land yet to the South-East, and sails towards it. It is the beautiful island of Hayti. COLUMBUS calls it Hispaniola. His intercourse with its inhabitants fills him with the best hopes. He finds them intelligent, gentle, and confiding. They look upon him and his followers, with awe and reverence, as beings who had come down from heaven to visit the earth. But, whilst matters seem thus to prosper with him, and every fresh discovery made along the coast, opens a new channel of friendly communication with its different chiefs or caciques, his own vessel, through disobedience to his orders, becomes suddenly a hopeless wreck. This misfortune,

however, serves but to quicken the kindly feelings of the natives yet more towards him. And, encouraged by their reception, he resolves to leave forthwith upon that spot some of his followers as the germ of a future colony; to build for their protection a fortress, out of the materials of his stranded vessel; to store it with guns and such provisions as he could supply; and to set out, upon his return to Spain, on board the one small caravel which yet remained to him. All this accordingly is done. Thirty-nine of his people are chosen to form the party, under Diego de Arana, their governor. And, since the day, which had witnessed the escape of himself and his ship's company from death by shipwreck, had been Christmas Day, COLUMBUS calls that place of their abode La Navidad, or The Nativity. He urges upon his men, before he departs, the necessity of taking heed to the words of sagacious and prudent counsel which he addressed to them; and to the Indians, he exhibits, by the process of a mock fight,—as a means of keeping them in awe,—the terrible power of the Spanish spear and cross-bow, the arquebus and cannon.

And now, upon the 4th of January, just five months after he had first set out from

the port of Palos, COLUMBUS begins his course homeward. Upon the second day, he falls in with the Pinta, whose separation from him he suspects to have been purposely caused by the treacherous designs of her commander. But, since he was in a situation in which he could neither establish the charge of guilt against that officer, nor punish him if it were proved, he is forced to keep within his own breast his feelings of indignation. And yet, before the two vessels leave finally the New World which they had discovered, a conflict hastily arises between some of their crew and the natives of Cape Cabron, on whose coast they had landed. The aspect of those savages was so ferocious, that COLUMBUS believes them to belong to the formidable Caribs, of whom he had already heard such dreadful accounts elsewhere; and he would fain believe that the wounds then inflicted upon them by the weapons of his own men, would tend to make the name of the Spaniard more feared, and protect the fortress of La Navidad from all danger of assault. But, happier had it been for all, if no blow had been struck, no blood had flowed. As it was, we can only regard the fact of this collision as the first shadow of those many coming strifes and cruelties,

which heaped such agonizing misery upon the New World, and such heavy reproach upon the Old.

Again, COLUMBUS enters upon the wide Atlantic. The voyage is made with difficulty. The vessels are in miserable plight. The winds are adverse. The pilots become confused and at variance in their reckonings. And soon a tempest overtakes them, threatening immediate ruin. The vessels are parted asunder. The crews of each believe the other to be lost. How they on board the *Pinta* passed their time, we know not. But, on board the vessel of COLUMBUS, as she scudded before the wind, we find, that, whilst every precaution was taken which skill could suggest, or courage could achieve, both he and his men were engaged in offering up vows and earnest prayers for safety. Within his own heart, thoughts were passing, in that awful crisis, which none but he could feel; and, since he has left them upon record, let none but he give utterance to them. Listen then to the words wherewith he has described them to the Spanish Sovereigns.

‘I had been less concerned for the tempest, had I alone been in danger, for I know I owe my life to the Supreme Creator, and because I have been other times so near death, that only the least part was

wanting to complete it. But what infinitely grieved and troubled me was the consideration, that as it had pleased our Lord to give me faith and assurance to go upon this undertaking, wherein I had now been successful; so now that those who opposed it were to be convinced, and your Highnesses served by me with honour and increase of your mighty state, His Divine Majesty should please to obstruct all this by my death; which had yet been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loss of all those men I had carried with me, upon promise of happy success. They, seeing themselves in that affliction, did not only curse their setting out, but the fear and awe my persuasions infused into them, to dissuade their return when outward-bound, as they had several times resolved to do. But, above all, my sorrow was double, when I remembered two sons I had left at school at Cordova, destitute of friends, in a strange country, before I had done, or at least could be known to have done, any service, which might be believed to incline your Highnesses to remember them. And, though on the one side I comforted myself with the faith that our Lord would not permit a thing which was so much for the exaltation of His Church, to be left imperfect, when I had, with so much opposition and trouble, almost brought it to perfection: yet on the other side I considered that it was His Will, that, because of my demerits, he would not permit me to obtain such honour in this world, but snatched it from me. Being in this inward confusion, I remembered your Highnesses' good fortune which, though I were dead, and the ship lost, might find some means that a conquest so near achieved should not be lost; and that it was possible the success of my voyage should, by some means or other, come to your knowledge.

For this reason, as briefly as the time would permit,

I writ upon parchment that I had discovered those lands I had promised, as also in how many days, and what way I had done it, the goodness of those lands, and the nature of the inhabitants, and how your Highnesses' subjects were left in possession of all I had discovered. Which writing, folded and sealed, I superscribed to your Highnesses, promising in writing upon it a 1000 ducats to him that should deliver it sealed to you; to the end, that, if any foreigners found it, the promised reward might prevail with them, not to give their intelligence to another. Then I caused a great cask to be brought to me, and having wrapped the writing in an oiled cloth, and then put it into a cake of wax, I dropped it into the cask; and, having stopped the bung close, cast it into the sea; all the men fancying it was some act of devotion. And, apprehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and the ship still sailing nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, and placed it at the top of the poop, to the end that when the ship sunk, the cask might take its chance, remaining still above water¹.

Did ever zeal, or loyalty, or fatherly affection, or trust in the good Providence of God, or courage, or prudence, or patience, shine forth, in their separate excellence, more conspicuously in any man, than now, when they were all combined, in the person of COLUMBUS? His prayer is granted. The fury of the storm ceases. And the Southernmost Island of the Azores appears in sight. Its Portuguese go-

¹ Life of COLUMBUS, &c. ut sup. in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 598.

vernor,—the base instrument of a selfish and tyrant king,—seizes, and attempts to detain, part of the crew who had landed to pay their religious vows at the altar of one of its chapels. The prudence and firmness of COLUMBUS defeat the wicked scheme ; and, once more, he is upon the ocean, sailing homeward. But his perils are not over even yet. In the brief space which separated him from the shores of Europe, the tempest bursts again upon his shattered vessel, and all seems lost. A second time, however, she is saved from the destruction that seemed inevitable ; and COLUMBUS, finding himself at the mouth of the Tagus, is forced to seek a temporary shelter within its harbour. He tarries there only a few days ; but they are long enough to demonstrate to the King of Portugal, and his subjects, the success of a design which they had rejected as impracticable ; and to awaken in them feelings of the deepest vexation and regret, that they should have suffered the prize thus to escape from their hands.

Again, COLUMBUS puts out to sea ; and, two days afterwards,—the 15th of April, 1493,—enters the port of Palos, amid the joyous acclamations of her citizens. In the evening of the same day, the Pinta returns also, having been saved, in like miraculous

manner, from the raging tempests. But not, in like manner, did her commander, Martin Pinzon, share the happiness which now filled the hearts of COLUMBUS and his people. Rather, the sight of their well-earned honours stung him with deeper shame. The remembrance of his desertion of COLUMBUS upon the coast of Cuba, and of the attempt to forestall his representations by others which had been already forwarded to the Spanish Court ; and the consciousness that these, his treacherous and sordid counsels, were alike seen through by COLUMBUS and by his Sovereigns, so agitated him with remorse and grief, that he could bear the burden of the reproach no longer. In a few days, he died.

Meanwhile, to COLUMBUS is freely offered the homage of a wondering and grateful people. From Palos to Seville,—where, for a time, he waited to receive the orders of his Sovereigns,—and thence to Barcelona, where the Court then resided, his course was that of a conqueror upon his march of triumph. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country came to him from every quarter. And, as he drew near to Barcelona, the thronging multitudes increased, filling the air with their shouts of joy. The Indians, six in number, who had been brought from their country by

COLUMBUS, appeared first in the procession; then were carried the specimens of birds, and plants, and golden ornaments, found in the New World; and, last of all, rode COLUMBUS himself, receiving, on every side, and at every step, the tribute of honour and of praise. He comes into the presence of the Sovereigns, describes the wonders he had seen, and points to the Indians who stood before him, and to the products gathered from their native Islands, as witnesses of his discoveries. The King and the Queen, their nobles and courtiers, all sink down upon their knees, and utter the words of prayer and thankfulness. Then follow the exulting strains of the *Te Deum*; and, looking upon the realities of another world thus set in array before them, the hearts both of rulers and of people are lifted up to Him who made and ruleth all. They confess, with quicker and more devoted impulse, that 'Heaven and Earth are full of the majesty of' His 'glory.'

And what can we say further that shall prove the greatness of COLUMBUS? To trace the progress and issue of the three more voyages which he accomplished, would be to exhibit him, indeed, still resolute, still patient, still faithful; but it would not be to demonstrate the existence and operation of

any qualities which the review, taken thus far of his history, has not made known. Referring you, therefore, to the pages of the professed historians of America, and biographers of COLUMBUS, for that fuller account of his proceedings which they furnish, and which none can peruse without interest and profit, I will only advert briefly to such parts of them as seem to me best to exhibit those points in his character which have not yet been prominently placed before you, or to suggest some lesson which it may be profitable for you to learn.

When I speak to you of works, from which information respecting COLUMBUS may be derived, you will, of course, understand me as referring chiefly to the History of America by Robertson, the History of the Life and Voyages of COLUMBUS by Washington Irving, and that, from which they both have derived their most valuable materials,—namely, the History of the Life of COLUMBUS by his son Fernando, and a translation of which, I have already said, is to be found in the second volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages. You will also meet with some important and interesting notices of the same subject, in a work by one of the most distinguished of American writers, I mean Prescott's His-

tory of Ferdinand and Isabella ; and in the brief papers written by some of our own countrymen². To those acquainted with the Spanish language, and able therefore to consult the original authorities of Herrera, Las Casas, Navarrete and others, which have been the best guides of our English writers, still further sources of information will, of course, be open. But, in the familiar pages of Robertson and Washington Irving, you may find all that you can require for the purposes of instruction or of agreeable narrative. Indeed, the two first Books of Robertson's History, which comprise the Life of COLUMBUS, may be cited as furnishing the very best specimens of historical writing to be found in the whole compass of English literature. The description which Professor Smythe has given of the merits of the work in general, eminently apply to this part of it.

'This accomplished historian'—he justly says,—'has formed a narrative and composed a work, of all others the most attractive that the range of history affords ; and, along with the other merits which his writings so generally exhibit, this production has another, not so obvious, and surely of very difficult attainment ; he is

² Among these may be mentioned an Essay by the late John Sterling, i. 47 ; and a Lecture (printed for private distribution only) by the Rev. Frederic Myers of Keswick.

never betrayed into inconsiderate enthusiasm by the splendid nature of his subject ; his imagination does not improperly take fire, amid events and characters of a cast so dazzling and so romantic ; he is still an historian,—he is still calm, deliberate, and precise. While delivering a story, which an epic poet might have been proud to have invented, he never loses for a moment the confidence of his readers by any appearance of exaggeration, or any passion for dramatic representation. Content with the real interests of his theme, he proceeds with his usual dignified composure, and delivers to posterity those inestimable pages, which may be at once an amusement for the most young and uninformed, and a study for the most grave and enlightened.—The pages of Dr. Robertson have not the unwearied splendour of Gibbon, nor the sudden flashes of sagacity which so charm us in the historical writings of Hume ; but Robertson is always an historian, with all the important merits which belong to the character.’

This was the testimony borne to the merits of Robertson by Professor Smythe, soon after he was called to that chair, the duties of which, we grieve to say, he can no longer, through bodily weakness, discharge. And it is remarkable, that, at a much later period, after the Professor had become acquainted with Washington Irving’s work, he still retains for Robertson the palm of superiority originally awarded to him. His words are,

‘ By the accession of his [Mr. Irving’s] volumes. we

have now the biography of COLUMBUS; as by Robertson's we before had, and still have, the history. Mr. Irving's has been to me a very interesting production, sometimes marked with passages of great force and beauty; and it contains every thing respecting COLUMBUS that can be wanted. He has had valuable sources of information, which he describes, and which were not within the reach of Robertson. Still, his volumes only show, as usual, the merits of Robertson. Upon looking over the historian's account once more, I see no mistakes, and no material omissions; in a concise and calm manner every particular of importance is intimated to the reader; and Mr. Irving has only told in the detail, but in a very interesting and agreeable manner, and I recommend his volumes to you, what our excellent historian has told before³.

This criticism, I believe, must be admitted to be correct, by all who examine impartially the works of the two writers to which it refers. And, since they who now read the one will, for the most part, extend their attention to the other, and the attempt to draw comparisons between them,—which can hardly fail, under such circumstances, to be made,—may lead many to side as partizans with this or that narrator of the same story, instead of weighing the merits of their respective narratives carefully in the even scales of justice,—I do not hesitate to ask you to follow, as your guide in this matter, the Professor

³ Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, ii. 82. 88.

whose testimony I have here cited. To sift narrowly the phrases of one or two passages only in their several writings, and to infer thence,—as has been done by a distinguished master of eloquence in our own day⁴,—that the work of the American biographer is ‘ambitious, and worse written’ than that of our own historian, is not, I venture humbly to affirm, the way to deal rightly with either of these eminent men. The greatness of Robertson remains unimpeached and unimpeachable, let the powers of Washington Irving be what they may; and it is not necessary to censure or disparage the words or clauses employed in any particular instance by the latter, in order to establish the excellency of the former. Better for us will it be, I think, to remember the truthfulness with which Washington Irving has described the freshness and beauty of England’s scenery, and of England’s home-bred joys; and to recognize the proof herein supplied, that he truly appreciates and loves objects so justly dear to true English hearts. Let us

⁴ Lord Brougham’s *Men of Letters and Science in the time of George III.*, p. 296. The criticisms which his Lordship has thought fit to pronounce upon certain phrases in Washington Irving’s narrative, are not likely to be made more palatable to that distinguished author, by his always designating him, both in his text and notes, as Mr. Irvine.

receive him, therefore, with right good will, wheresoever we meet him. And when, as in the present instance, we see him following the path, and emulating the distinction, of our own national historians, let us not raise questions of captious criticism with respect to the structure of this or that sentence, which the one or the other may have written. Rather, let us be glad to confess, that, upon either side of the Atlantic, and in the pure accents of their common Saxon tongue, the sons of genius and of learning have proclaimed to the world the same imperishable evidence of human energy; and that he, of whom that evidence exists, is CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Of all the testimonies to the wonderful greatness of his discovery, now eagerly offered to him, not only by Spain, but the chief nations of Europe, none were more welcome to COLUMBUS than those which related to the preparations for his second voyage. The Bull of Pope Alexander VI., to which reference has already been made, was now issued¹; and the appointment of twelve ecclesiastics to accompany the expedition, with the celebrated Benedictine monk, Bernardo Boyl, at their head, as Vicar Apos-

¹ See p. 199.

tolie, proved the determination of the Spanish rulers to avail themselves to the uttermost of the powers thus granted by the Supreme Pontiff. To the mind of COLUMBUS, such appointments were especially grateful. They strengthened the hopes, which he had long fondly cherished, and which were daily influencing his conduct more and more, that, through the regions of the New World, a wider pathway might be opened for the transmission of that which was the most precious treasure of the Old,—the knowledge of Christ and of His Gospel. With this prospect before him, and that of the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, to which he likewise looked forward as the result of his success, he counted as nothing the toils and perils through which he had yet to pass. Envy or proud conceit might still seek to disparage the value of his discoveries ; but, with his wonted sagacity, he put to open rebuke the folly of such opponents⁶, and steadfastly held on his way.

On the 25th of September, 1493, he em-

⁶ The well-known story of the egg may be cited as a proof of this ; a story, of which Washington Irving (i. 432) has truly observed, that its universal ‘ popularity is a proof of its merit.’ The circumstances connected with it are said to have occurred in the interval between the first and second voyage of COLUMBUS.

barked once more for the Western World, with a fleet, consisting of seventeen vessels, and carrying fifteen hundred persons, some of them of the highest rank. He shaped his course from the Canaries more to the South than he had done in the former voyage, with the design of visiting the Caribbee Islands. He succeeded in reaching one of that group, on the evening of the 2nd of November; and, because the day was Sunday, he called the Island Dominica⁷. Two other Islands also rose before him, to the one of which he gave the name of Marigalante, from the name of his own ship; and to the other, that of St. Mary of Guadaloupe; having promised the friars of a convent of that name in Estremadura, that he would perpetuate it in the New World. He tarried not long upon their shores, or those of the many other Islands which form part of the same group; but it was long enough to be

⁷ Robertson says that it was Descada, which he so called on account of the impatience of the crew to discover the New World, i. 161. But in Fernando's history, it is expressly stated to have been Dominica. And as the latter Island is furthest to the South, from which Columbus is described to have shaped his course North and North-West towards Hispaniola, there is no doubt that Fernando's account is the correct one; and Washington Irving has very properly followed it.

assured that they were the abodes of savage cannibals. Having named each in succession, and taken formal possession of them on behalf of Spain, he hastened on to the North coast of Hispaniola, to learn how the colony had fared which he had left at La Navidad. But, lo ! upon his arrival at that place, he found only its burnt and ruined palisades. The thirty-nine men were all gone. Sensuality, cruelty, avarice, had utterly destroyed them. Yet, determining still to plant a colony upon the coast of Hispaniola, he went on further to the Eastward ; and, having disembarked his horses, and other live-stock and stores, laid the foundations of a town, to which he gave the name of Isabella.

His people speedily became discontented at finding that they were compelled to work, instead of gathering up gold without trouble. And COLUMBUS himself fell sick. But hope survived amid these discouragements. The country was rich and beautiful ; gold was found in the beds of its rivers ; and the natives were filled with such astonishment and awe at the sight of the Spanish warriors mounted upon horseback, that it seemed impossible to apprehend any thing like serious opposition from even the most formidable of their tribes. A portion of his fleet was sent

home with tidings of these things, and a request for fresh supplies of men and arms, of clothing and provisions*. Before these supplies came, sickness and scarcity made sore havoc among the colonists, and the energies of COLUMBUS were unceasingly occupied in curbing the mutinous violence of some, and cheering the dejected spirits of others. The enterprising and industrious, he employed in searching the mountains of Cibao, in which gold was supposed to exist; and some of them, he took with him on board a small squadron, with which he sailed to make fresh discoveries in those seas, leaving his brother Diego temporary governor of the colony.

His course was at first Westward to Cuba, at which he had touched during his first voyage. But, having coasted along a great part of its Southern coast, and hearing from its inhabitants of a rich Island yet further to the South of it, he turned in that direction; and a few hours' sail brought him within sight of Jamaica, now the most important of our own possessions in that quarter of the world. For many weeks, did

* A letter was sent home at the same time by COLUMBUS to Antonio de Torres, touching Caribbean slaves, which will be noticed hereafter.


he continue cruising along the coasts of these two extensive Islands, deriving no substantial profit from his researches, and still confirming himself in the erroneous belief that the former, Cuba, was part of the great continent of Cathay. His crews grew sick and weary of a voyage apparently fruitless. Their vessels had become strained among the shoals against which they had so frequently struck; provisions were falling short; and, to put the climax to their trials, the strength of COLUMBUS himself gave way beneath the constant pressure of bodily and mental labour which he had undergone. Seeing their Admiral thus prostrate, his men put about at once for Hispaniola, and brought him, in a state of utter insensibility, into the harbour from which he had set sail, nearly five months before⁹, with such cheerful hope. With his return to shore, returned also his health and strength; and not the least powerful of the earthly instruments of restoration, was the presence of another of his brothers, Bartholomew, who had been many years before, as we have seen¹, despatched to the Court of England, and now, after very severe trials and reverses, had come to help

⁹ From April 24 to September 4, 1494.

¹ See p. 186.

the great discoverer of the New World, in the most critical hour of his necessities.

The Spaniards, who composed the outlying settlement near the mountains of Cibao, under the command of Margarite, forgetful of all the instructions with which COLUMBUS had charged them, and following only the impulse of their own blind passions, had goaded the simple Indians to resistance, and lavishly wasted their own strength and means of support. Diego Columbus did what he could to restrain such excesses ; but his authority was set at nought ; and Boyl, the Vicar Apostolic, making common cause with Margarite, the sensual and reckless general, had laid hands upon some vessels in the harbour, and, with a band of people as impatient of control as themselves, had sailed to Spain, with the intention of inflaming the minds of her Sovereigns against the man whom they had so lately delighted to honour. The evils thus inflicted upon the colony had been, in some degree, counterbalanced by the wondrous feats of daring boldness and cunning stratagem ascribed to Alonzo de Ojeda, who is represented by all the historians of Spain, to have been in these, as in the Moorish wars, the bravest of her chivalry. But it was left for COLUMBUS to ward off,



for the time, the destruction then ready to fall from the Indians upon his own small colony, by attacking with all his strength the caciques who had become, with all their various tribes, confederate against him. The Spanish forces amounted to only two hundred infantry and twenty horsemen, whilst the Indians amounted to one hundred thousand. But those naked warriors, with arrows or with clubs, could avail nothing against the Spaniard with his armour and his lance, his musket and his rushing steed. And then, as if to make the battle more terrible, twenty bloodhounds were let loose to seize, to tear, and to devour. The battle ended in conquest, complete and irreversible, as it could hardly fail to be ; and the conquest was soon followed by its almost invariable result,—the imposition of oppressive tax and tribute. These were the first links of that hateful and heavy chain which, to the shame of Christian Europe be it said, she forged and bound upon the necks of the wretched people upon whose land she laid her grasp. And grief is it to know, that, through disobedience to instructions, just and merciful, which he had originally laid down, and through the necessities that unavoidably followed it, COLUMBUS was

constrained to be the agent of such severities.

Another humiliating fact also here calls for notice, and that is the banishment of the five hundred Indians, prisoners taken in this war, whom COLUMBUS sent home, in charge of his brother Diego, to be sold as slaves at Seville. The six Indians, whom he had brought with him to Barcelona, on the occasion of his distinguished reception in that city, had been baptized publicly before his departure ; and Ferdinand, and Isabella, and Prince Juan, had acted as their sponsors. They had been regarded as the first-fruits of the Pagan World of the West, then freshly gathered into the spiritual garner of Christ ; and one of them, who died not long afterwards, was believed to be the first of those nations that entered heaven. The conversion of all their brethren also was the grand object, for which Spain had been urged to put forth her energies, under the direction of COLUMBUS. The very light which he had been the first to see, through the shades of night, upon the coast of St. Salvador, was described, by a Spanish historian, as

‘ a light in the midst of darkness, signifying the spiritual light which was introduced amongst these bar-

barous people,—so that the princes of Castile and Leon should always be occupied in bringing infidels to the knowledge of the Holy Catholic Faith ².

And yet, associated though they were with such holy destinies, and declared to be the inheritors of such high prerogatives, the Indians were calmly consigned to slavery by the very men who professed to open for them a way to eternal life. The captives in the war of Hispaniola were not the first for whom COLUMBUS had marked out that fate. In a letter written, soon after the settlement of Isabella, to Antonio de Torres, Receiver of that colony, COLUMBUS had proposed that some of the cannibals of the Carib Islands should be sent home as slaves, and, having learnt the Castilian tongue, should return, and be interpreters of the Gospel message to their brethren. The greater the number of such interpreters, the larger benefit, he conceived, would be secured to the savage cannibals; and, as a means of attaining that end, and, at the same time, of enriching Spain, he had suggested that the cost of the necessary supplies, sent out, from time to time, by that country to her West Indian settlements, should be defrayed by the price

² Herrera, quoted in 'The Conquerors of the New World,' &c., i. 101.

of slaves brought home thence, and that a tax, levied upon the head of each slave, should be paid into the royal treasury. The proposal, it is true, was not then acted upon. Neither was it formally condemned³. COLUMBUS was only directed to leave it in abeyance, until some other plan of communicating the knowledge of Christianity to the natives might be discovered, and meanwhile to give his written opinion upon the merits of such a plan.

The motives, impelling COLUMBUS not only to propose, for the second time, but actually to send home at once, without orders, the miserable band of five hundred Indian pri-

³ It would seem, from the account given by Washington Irving of this matter, ii. 82, 83, that it had been so condemned by Isabella. But the author of 'The Conqueror of the New World,' &c., has shown, from the notes written on the margin of the original letter, that it was not. The note upon the first proposition, that Carib slaves should be sent to Spain to be educated as missionaries is thus answered: 'This is very well, and so it must be done: but let the Admiral see whether it could not be managed there, that they should be brought to our sacred Catholic Faith, and the same thing with the Indians of those Islands where he is.' The answer to the second proposition of repaying the expense of supplies from him by cargoes of such slaves, is thus given: 'As regards this matter, it is suspended for the present, until there come some other way of doing it there; and let the Admiral write what he thinks of this.' i. 119—123.

soners as slaves, were such as appealed directly to the selfish passions of human nature. The colony of Isabella was already becoming a source of great expense to Spain. The return of profit from it was slow and partial. The produce of the sale of these slaves, and the purposes for which they might be employed, would, at all events, prove that one source of gain was opened in the New World. And, if any should condemn the act as cruel, or say of the gains arising from it, that they would be a curse, and not a blessing, to the country that coveted or received them;—was not the answer ready at hand, that a traffic in the sale of men, of like complexion with those now sent from Hispaniola, had long been carried on, upon the coast of Africa, by the merchants and mariners of Christian Spain and Portugal, and yet no censure had been cast upon it by the teachers of the Christian Faith? COLUMBUS had often visited the marts at which that traffic was carried on. Its evils, probably, had not then reached the frightful extent of misery which have been the disgrace of a later age; and COLUMBUS might, therefore, have fallen in more easily with a system familiar to him from his earliest manhood. And, as for prisoners taken in war,—such as those now brought

from Hispaniola,—the practice of consigning them as slaves to the best bidder in the market, was one which he had seen constantly pursued by the Spanish Sovereigns, in their late wars with the Moors; and the lawfulness of which, he knew, had been acknowledged in express terms by their religious teachers and confessors.

By such apologies, the friends of COLUMBUS have sought to defend him in this matter. And Las Casas, the well-known advocate of the rights of the poor Indian, admits, that, ‘if those pious and learned men, whom the Sovereigns took for their guides, were ignorant of the injustice, it is no wonder that the unlettered Admiral should not be conscious of its impropriety⁴.’ Most willingly do I accept such an admission in favour of COLUMBUS. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that the bright halo of glory which surrounds him is dimmed by this cloud. And a feeling of regret cannot but arise within our minds that he, whose reach of thought and deter-

⁴ Las Casas, Hist. Ind. t. i. c. 122. MS. quoted by Washington Irving, ii. 264. I have given, in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of my History of the Colonial Church, a brief summary of the rise and progress of Slavery, and especially the share taken in that hateful system by our own Colonies in North America and the West Indies.

mined energy penetrated the confines of a New World, should not, with equal clearness of mental vision, and equal boldness of action, have detected and put to flight the sophistries with which the policy of a selfish world attempts to hide its lust of gain and lust of power. If that question, which afterwards came home with such overwhelming power to the heart of Cortez, in the closing hours of his life, had been examined by COLUMBUS now, in his early government of the West Indian tribes,—the question, whether any one could conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves⁵;—and if that examination had led him to renounce, at once and for ever, the design of sending home a single Carib, or native of Hispaniola, in bondage; who shall say that the sequel of European and American history would not have opened to our view pages of a far more grateful character than those which they now present, and that the name of Co-

⁵ This remarkable declaration occurs in the Will of Cortez: 'It has long been a question whether one can conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves. Since this point has not been determined, I enjoin it on my son Martin and his heirs, that they spare no pains to come to the exact knowledge of the truth, as a matter which deeply concerns the conscience of each of them no less than mine.' Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, iii. 306.

LUMBUS would not have been associated in our minds with feelings of still deeper reverence and admiration ?

And here, as we pass along, let it be recorded, to the eternal honour of the Queen Isabella, that she caused the royal order, commanding the sale of these captives, to be suspended, until she could refer the matter to the consideration of certain divines, who should determine the lawfulness of the measure ; and that, finding them divided in judgment respecting it, she forthwith obtained for the unhappy slaves their release and the means of returning to their country⁶.

Meanwhile, the enemies of COLUMBUS at home had succeeded in conveying to the minds of the Spanish Sovereigns an evil impression of him and of his proceedings. And Aguado, who had been sent out to examine into the truth of the reports, displayed an arrogant spirit in the discharge of that office, which stirred into action the worst passions of the worst people in the colony. COLUMBUS, therefore, leaving his brother Bartholomew

⁶ Navarrete, quoted by Washington Irving, ii. 296. In Robertson's Notes and Illustrations, i. 374, the testimony of a Spanish manuscript is quoted, which states that the men all died in consequence of the change of climate.

in command, resolved to return to Spain, and meet his accusers face to face.

After a tedious and painful voyage of three months, he is again seen, in the summer of 1496, exhibiting to the rulers and people of Spain those evidences of the reality and greatness of his discoveries which disappointed adventurers had been striving, by every artifice in their power, to misrepresent. His statements are believed. The jealousy and envy of wicked men had not yet entirely destroyed the confidence which Ferdinand and Isabella reposed in him. It had, for a time, been shaken, but is now restored. And orders are given for the fitting out of vessels for a third voyage under COLUMBUS. But, between the issuing of these orders and their execution, many months of harassing and vexatious delay intervened ; and it was not until the end of May, 1498, that the expedition sailed. The incessant opposition of the enemies of COLUMBUS,—favoured by the disappointed and vindictive feelings of many who had gone out, expecting in a moment to be rich, and who had returned poor and sickly,—had been the chief cause of this delay. And, upon one occasion, having been pursued to the water's edge by the clamorous insolence of one, who had been

urged to that course by others in high authority, COLUMBUS was so far exasperated, as to strike him to the ground in his rage;—a circumstance, it is said, which tended greatly to induce that ignominious treatment, which soon afterwards overtook him.

At length COLUMBUS set sail, in command of a squadron of six vessels, and carrying with him, among other future colonists of the lands which he was about to explore, a large number of convicted criminals of the very worst description. It was a capital error thus to throw upon the New World the outcasts of the Old; and to poison the population of an infant settlement by those polluting streams which flowed from the mine, the galley, and the jail. The ruinous consequences of such a plan, in the case of the Spanish colonies, were speedily made manifest. But, alas! in spite of the lesson thus plainly written for our warning, the like error has been committed, and the like miseries experienced, by our own country in a later age.

Upon leaving the Canaries, COLUMBUS had dispatched three of his ships with supplies for Hispaniola; and with the remaining three, under his own command, held on a more Southerly course than had been pur-

sued in either of his former voyages. The distress which he and his people suffered from the intense heat, when they were within five degrees of the line, was such as to make them believe that the fabled stories of the torrid zone were about to be proved true. And bearing away, in consequence, a little to the North-West, he went on until the joyful cry of 'Land' was raised. It was a land, from whose base three mountainous summits rose up before him; and, therefore, he called it Trinidad.

The discovery of that Island, which is not far from the mouth of the Orinoco, was immediately followed by the discovery of the province of Paria, which is bounded by that river, and forms part of the great continent of South America. But, upon the efforts of COLUMBUS to explore that region, the dangers then encountered by him, and the various speculations which he entertained respecting it, there is not now time to dwell⁷. Let us follow him once more to Hispaniola, which he reached, at the end of August, 1498, weary, and worn, and almost blind with the fatigues and hardships he had undergone. He landed, not at his first settlement of Isabella, but on the South coast of the

⁷ They are described at length by Washington Irving, ii. 401, &c.

Island, on the Eastern bank of the Ozema; where, in accordance with instructions, sent by him from Spain to his brother Bartholomew, the foundations had been laid of the fortress of St. Domingo,—a name given in memory of their father Dominic*, and since extended to the whole Island. Negotiations also with the chief cacique of the neighbouring fertile country had been carried on most successfully by his brother; and all, for a time, seemed prosperous. But the iniquitous proceedings of the Spaniards at Isabella, instigated by Francisco Roldan, its chief judge, soon brought misery and ruin upon both settlements. The account of their plots, and the firmness and prudence with which both the brothers of COLUMBUS, Diego and Bartholomew, withstood them, belongs rather to the general history of the Spanish Colonies than to our present subject. I pass it by, therefore; being only anxious to show to you the trying character of the difficulties which were thereby created, and with which COLUMBUS found himself compelled to grapple, as soon as he set foot upon the Island.

The chief aggravation of those difficulties

* Fernando's Life of COLUMBUS, in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 643.

arose from the following circumstance. The three ships, which, upon leaving the Canaries, as I have said, COLUMBUS had dispatched to Hispaniola with supplies, had been carried far beyond their point of destination ; and the first harbour in which they came to anchor, was actually upon the coast of Xaragua, a hundred and sixty miles West of St. Domingo, where Roldan and his mutinous followers had taken up their position. You remember the reckless and abandoned character of many of the men embarked on board these vessels ; and you can readily understand therefore the ease with which Roldan enlisted them on his side ; and the formidable addition created thereby to the dangers that beset COLUMBUS. It was impossible for him to overcome the rebels by force of arms. And it seemed hopeless to make satisfactory negotiations for peace with men, who were utterly regardless of truth and honour. Yet this was the only mode of action open to him. He was forced to temporize, as he best could ; and even to reinstate Roldan in that high office of justice which he had so shamefully betrayed. Still the energies of his master mind made themselves felt ; and, in spite of every adverse influence, COLUMBUS succeeded in restoring confidence and peace among the

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Indian tribes, and in making the obligations of the law respected by his own people.

But trials, heavier than any which he had yet experienced, were ready to overtake him. His enemies at the Court of Spain had now done their hateful work effectually. He had entreated, that, 'absent, envied, and a foreigner,' he might not be hastily or harshly judged ; but the reasonableness of such a request was forgotten amid the clamours of disappointed adventurers, and the secret insinuations of envious opponents. Roldan, for his own sake, had contrived to send home representations which, screening his own guilt, threw the greater reproach upon COLUMBUS ; and these were pressed home, with such artfulness and perseverance, upon the attention of the Spanish Sovereigns, that, even Isabella could no longer refuse that a commissioner should be sent out to examine into the complaints brought against him, with powers to deprive him, if it were necessary, of his command. Bobadilla, an officer of the royal household, is appointed the commissioner ; and, in the month of August, 1500, whilst COLUMBUS was absent from St. Domingo, he lands, and,—by virtue of the royal mandates entrusted to him, and in spite of the remonstrances of Diego Columbus and others,

who believed that they were still bound by allegiance to the Admiral,—assumes the office of Governor; seizes the property of COLUMBUS, both public and private; orders all the prisoners then under confinement to be delivered up to him; and gives to the people a licence for twenty years to seek gold, paying only an eleventh, instead of a third as heretofore, to government. If these, and other like acts of authority, on the part of Bobadilla, had followed his investigation of the charges against COLUMBUS, they might have been regarded as proofs that the truth of the charges had been established. But to venture upon them, whilst COLUMBUS was absent and unheard, and to assume his guilt before it was attempted to be proved, was to reverse the whole order of his instructions, and disgracefully to violate every principle of justice. COLUMBUS returns to St. Domingo; and, lo! he is forthwith bound in chains, and cast into prison! His brother Diego had been already seized, and was on board one of the ships, in irons. And, fearing lest Bartholomew, who was still absent, with forces under his command, might refuse to submit, Bobadilla requests COLUMBUS to write and enjoin him to return quietly. The same spirit of submission to the royal power which had

taught COLUMBUS himself to struggle not against any cruelty or indignity, led him to lay the like injunction upon his brother. And so, within a few weeks, amid the curses and scoffs of a brutal rabble, all the three brothers are carried from that shore, prisoners in different ships. The captain of that which bore CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was so touched with the humiliating spectacle, that he wished to remove his chains. But COLUMBUS could not consent to be freed thus from their weight and shame. He said,

‘That since their Catholic Majesties, by their Letter, directed him to perform whatsoever Bobadilla did in their name command him to do, in virtue of which authority and commission he had put him into irons, he would have none but their Highnesses themselves to do their pleasure herein; and he was resolved to keep those fetters as relics, and a memorial of the reward of his many services. As accordingly he did,’ adds his son, ‘for I always saw those irons in his room, which he ordered to be buried with his body’⁹.

The deep sense of the injustice heaped upon him was accompanied with the strong belief, that, as soon as his cause was known to the Spanish Sovereigns, they would vindi-

⁹ Fernando’s Life of COLUMBUS, in Churchill’s Voyages, ii. 659.

cate him from the reproach he so unjustly suffered. He was not mistaken in that belief. The spectacle of COLUMBUS brought home a prisoner from the New World, awakened an universal feeling of grief and indignation. And when the word was brought from Ferdinand and Isabella, condemning and disowning the shameful acts done in their names, and commanding that COLUMBUS should be instantly released and restored to honour, it did but express the feelings of all their subjects whose hearts were not utterly dead to every generous impulse. COLUMBUS came again into the presence of those Sovereigns. And, when he heard them confessing their sorrow for the wrongs and indignities he had suffered, and saw the Queen even weeping, as she sat in royal state before him, the emotions, so long shut up within his bosom, found vent, and, falling down upon his knees, he poured them out amid sobs and tears. Then, vindicating the course of government which he had pursued, and repelling the gross calumnies with which his enemies had assailed him, he received the renewed assurances of the Sovereigns that every grievance should be redressed, and every privilege restored.

These assurances, it is painful to be com-

pelled to add, were not made good. The privileges of COLUMBUS had already been infringed by the licences, granted to certain officers, to prosecute discoveries in the Western hemisphere, independently of his command, and even without his knowledge. Among the most important of these expeditions was one undertaken by Ojeda, in 1499, to the province of Paria, and the regions adjoining; an expedition, in the equipment and prosecution of which he was assisted by the celebrated Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, whose name,—owing to the account which he drew up, after his return, of the countries he had visited,—has been eventually given to both the mighty continents of the New World. That COLUMBUS has thereby been robbed of a distinction to which he, above all the other sons of men, could alone properly lay claim, there can be no doubt. And the wrong has been perpetuated. The name of AMERICA has become the designation of one whole quarter of the world; whilst that of COLUMBIA is affixed only to a river, or to towns and provinces, within those extensive limits. This is an act of caprice, committed by the civilized nations of the earth, which Robertson has truly represented ‘as unaccountable as’ it is ‘unjust;’

and the regret, which it necessarily excites within us, is increased by knowing it to be an 'injustice, which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress'.¹ Another expedition, also, under the command of Vicente Pinzon,—a companion of COLUMBUS upon his first voyage,—was fitted out in 1500, and made conspicuous by its discovery of the River Amazon and the territory of Brazil. These, and other similar attempts to extend the limits of European discovery in the Western World, were, in fact, direct violations of the rights originally granted to COLUMBUS; and Ferdinand had probably been induced to make them from a belief that the evil reports respecting him, which he had listened to with so willing an ear, would soon lead to a total deprivation of all his prerogatives.

But Ferdinand had now seen and confessed the falsehood of those reports. And, therefore, to invent, as he did, excuses for detaining COLUMBUS in Spain, and, instead of reinstating him at once in the Viceroyalty of Hispaniola and the other newly discovered countries, to appoint Ovando, a knight of

¹ Robertson's *History of America*, i. 211. For a more minute and interesting account of Amerigo Vespucci, see Washington Irving, iv. 157—190.

Alcantara, to that office, was an act as discreditable to the honour of the King, as it was unjust and cruel to COLUMBUS.

His noble spirit still bore up. Its energies were, first, directed to the reconsideration of the design, which he had marked out for himself in former years, of recovering the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Moslem. And, had the means of acting upon the plan, then proposed by him to Ferdinand respecting it, been at hand, he would doubtless have put them into operation forthwith. But no channel was then opened for the accomplishment of his scheme in that quarter.

At the same moment, tidings were brought to Europe of the successful voyages of Vasco de Gama, and others, under the Portuguese flag, to India, and of the rich vein of commerce opened by those discoveries. COLUMBUS, believing still that a shorter way of reaching the source of those treasures lay through the regions which he had already discovered in the West, and that a strait or isthmus, connecting the Atlantic with the Indian Sea, would be found somewhere about that region where the isthmus of Darien is now known to exist, applies to and obtains permission from Ferdinand to fit out an expe-

dition for the purpose of ascertaining that fact.

COLUMBUS sets out upon his fourth and last voyage, on the 9th of May, 1502. His orders were not to touch at Hispaniola ; but the necessity of exchanging one of the vessels of his small squadron for another that could sail better, forced him to do so. The harbour of St. Domingo was at that moment occupied with a fleet of eighteen vessels, which was about to carry home Bobadilla, Roldan, and many others, who had been distinguished for their opposition to COLUMBUS. The request of COLUMBUS, upon his arrival, to exchange his own defective vessel for another, was refused. He was not even allowed to enter the harbour ; although he foresaw signs, not to be mistaken, of an impending storm, and craved for shelter. Ovando would not listen to him. COLUMBUS was driven out, and compelled to seek such anchorage as he could find elsewhere. But, in the extremity of his own distress, he still sought to save his fierce inveterate enemies from the danger which he knew awaited them ; and, therefore, besought Ovando not to suffer the fleet to get under weigh. Again, his entreaties were disregarded. The fleet set sail ; and, ere two days had passed, the

hurricane, which COLUMBUS had foreseen, came on, and the ships, which bore Bobadilla, and Roldan, and their associates, and all the treasure which they had cruelly extorted from the poor Indians, "sank as lead in the mighty waters." Some few shattered vessels returned to the harbour of St. Domingo. But only one, out of the eighteen, made good her voyage to Spain. And that was the weakest vessel of the fleet, which carried the property of COLUMBUS. So wonderfully were he and his family preserved, amid the destruction of his enemies !

The history of the sequel of his voyage is the history of disappointment and distress. The places, now known as the Bay of Honduras and the Mosquito Coast, were carefully explored ; but no passage to the Indian Ocean was discovered. A settlement, intended to be made in the province of Veragua under his brother Bartholomew, it was found necessary to abandon by reason of the ferocity of the natives. His ships were tossed and worn by tempests, with a severity and frequency which had never been before experienced. Seeking to return to Hispaniola, he first touched at Cuba, and was thence driven back to Jamaica. Upon

which Island, says his son Fernando, who was with him in that voyage, being

‘no longer able to keep the ships above water, we run them ashore as far in as we could, stranding them close together board and board, and shoaring them up on both sides, fixt them so that they could not budge, and in this posture the water came up almost to the deck, upon which, and the poop, and the forecastle, were sheds made for the men to lie in, to secure ourselves, that the Indians might not hurt us².’

What the feelings of COLUMBUS were in this fearful crisis, we may learn in some degree from the fragments which have been preserved of his letters.

‘Until now,’ he says, ‘I have wept for others. Have pity upon me, Heaven; and weep for me, earth! In my temporal concerns, without a farthing to bestow; cast away here in the Indies; isolated in my misery,—infirm—expecting each day will be my last; surrounded by cruel savages; in spiritual concerns, separated from the holy sacraments of the Church, so that my soul will be lost, if separated here from my body! Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, and justice. I came not on this voyage to gain honour and estate; for all hope of the kind is dead within me. I came to serve your Majesties with a sound intention and honest zeal, and I speak no falsehood³.’

² Fernando's Life of COLUMBUS, &c. in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 679.

³ Washington Irving's Life of COLUMBUS, iii. 309.

In this extremity of his distress, two of his party, Mendez and Fiesco, offer to go, with some of the Indians and their own crews, in two rude canoes of the country, to Hispaniola, more than thirty leagues distant, that they might obtain succour. Their offer is accepted. They depart. And COLUMBUS, prostrate upon his bed in pain and sickness, is left, with the miserable remnant of his company, upon the desolate coast of Jamaica. Many months pass by ; and no tidings at all are heard of Mendez and Fiesco. The spirit of mutiny breaks out. Its ringleaders insult COLUMBUS with their reproaches, as he lies helpless upon his bed ; and then, turning insolently away, leave him, as they boast, to his fate. There were not fewer than forty-eight men, who thus abandoned their commander. Nevertheless, with resolute and patient and faithful spirit, he strives to encourage the few that still adhere to him. Their provisions fall short. And the Indians, tired with the presence of COLUMBUS and his white men, and instigated by the deserters, who had now made common cause with them, will no longer furnish him with supplies. What then is to be done ? COLUMBUS invites the Indian chiefs to a conference, which they agree

to hold, upon a stated day. He tells them of the Almighty God, Whom he and his people worshipped; Who was the protector of the righteous, and the avenger of the wicked. He assures them that the blessing of that God was, even then, with those of his faithful followers, who had gone in their frail canoes over the distant sea for succour, and that His curse would sooner or later fall upon the mutinous men, who were roaming licentiously about the Island. He charges the Indians with abetting the counsels of those his disobedient people; and warns them, that, if they persisted in so doing, the vengeance of his God would fall not less fatally upon them than upon the mutineers. Let them not neglect his warning. Even that very night, he affirms,—as a present witness of the truth of his words,—they should see the moon ‘rise angry, and of a bloody hue⁴.’ COLUMBUS knows full well the ground upon which he rested that assurance; and the Indians go away; some, anxious and afraid; others, deriding it as an idle tale. But, behold! as the moon arose that night, she passed through the darkness of an eclipse.

⁴ Fernando's Life of COLUMBUS, in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 683.

And, when the Indians saw the lurid and strange shadow spread over it, they felt that the words of COLUMBUS were indeed true ; and that his God was hiding from them, in anger, the brightness of that glorious light. Instantly they come to him, with loud cries for pardon and for help ; bringing eagerly in their hands such provisions as they could find ; and promising that he should no longer lack any thing, if only he would prevail upon his God to scowl not so fearfully upon them any more. COLUMBUS withdraws into his cabin, as if, in compliance with their entreaties, he were about thus to plead for them with his God ; and then, after a time, comes forth, bids them be of good cheer ; and declares, that, if they would but deal kindly with him and with his faithful followers, his God would withdraw from the moon the veil that covered her. Whilst he yet speaks, the veil is gradually removed ; and the moon shines forth again, amid the blue vault of heaven, in all her beauty and splendour. Can the Indians any longer refuse to reverence, obey, and cherish one who thus knoweth the counsels, and thus receiveth the favour of the Great Spirit ?

So runs the well-known story of COLUMBUS, to which I adverted in a former part of this

Address⁵. That it was a wonderful instance of the triumph of mind over brute force, and of science over savage ignorance, is most true. And that the peculiar difficulties of his position, at this moment, may be regarded by many as a sufficient justification of the stratagem to which he had recourse, is a proposition which perhaps will be received not less readily. Nevertheless, to pass off, as a supernatural exhibition of the wrath of God, a phenomenon, which he knew must arise from the unchanged, unchanging laws, whereby the power of God directs the movements of every planet; and to convert the inevitable result of that phenomenon into an evidence which should persuade the ignorant barbarian, that the white man could penetrate the secrets and arrest the purposes of the Most High, was an act, which, in its real character and bearing, differed not, as I conceive, from those artifices which,—exercised at other times and in other places,—men have tried to palliate by the designation of ‘pious frauds.’ And the practice of such frauds,—let it be observed where, or how, it may,—can never fail to injure the moral faculties of those who resort to it.

COLUMBUS, who had prevailed upon the

⁵ See p. 166, *ante*.

Indians, in the manner that has been described, to believe that he was a partaker of the Divine counsels, was yet made to feel the misery and danger of his real condition, by being still left upon that desolate shore, without any tidings from Hispaniola. At length, one evening, a vessel arrives, testifying indeed the fact that Ovando had been apprised of the situation of COLUMBUS; but nothing more; for, its commander, Escobar, one of his ancient enemies, only tarried long enough to receive from him a letter, which he desired him to write to Ovando, and then disappeared.

Meanwhile, the danger which had never ceased to threaten COLUMBUS, from his band of mutinous deserters, now rose to its height. His brother Bartholomew, and the others who still remained stedfast to him, were forced to meet them in fight. The mutineers were worsted; their ringleader was taken prisoner, in personal combat, by Bartholomew; and the survivors, scattered at first in disorderly flight, were soon afterwards thankful to surrender, upon any terms, to the commander whom they had so foully wronged.

At last came the long-looked-for assistance; and, after passing a full year, amid such fearful perils, in Jamaica, COLUMBUS and his

party left it, June 28, 1504, and reached St. Domingo in safety. Thence, after having tarried long enough to learn, by bitter experience, the hypocrisy and cruelty of Ovando's character,—hypocrisy and cruelty, to which such afflicting testimony is given in the sufferings of the poor Indians under his government,—he once more set sail; and, after a tempestuous and perilous voyage, reached Spain, before the close of the year.

Worn down with age, and sickness, and hardship, he landed, and found himself a beggar. The arrears of property long due to him were still unpaid. He had no home of his own to shelter him, and no money to provide for the exigencies of the passing hour. To put the climax to his trials, his generous friend and patron, Isabella, died, a few days after his return to Spain. With Ferdinand, indeed, as soon as his weak health permitted him to approach the Court, COLUMBUS pleaded, earnestly and long, in defence of those rights which the royal word had promised should be secured to himself and to his family. But justice and generosity were alike unknown to Ferdinand. And, although he could order a monument to be raised in honour of COLUMBUS, as soon as he had died; although he could inscribe

thereon the acknowledgment⁶, that it was COLUMBUS who, to Castile and Leon, had given a New World; yet he dismissed the aged and poverty-stricken petitioner, from his presence, without pity and without redress.

But COLUMBUS was upheld and comforted by a strength which earthly potentates could neither give nor take away. The terms in which he drew up his last Will,—and to parts of that document I have already referred⁷,—prove that this strength,—even the strength of an unshaken faith in God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ,—was greatest, at the very moment in which his earthly fortunes were at their lowest ebb, and his bodily energies ready to be dissolved in death. In the strength of this faith, he testified his dying love to those nearest and dearest to him in kindred and in friendship. In the strength of this faith, he offered up his last prayers and praises; and, repeating the words of his Blessed Saviour upon the Cross, commended his spirit calmly into the hands of his Heavenly

⁶ A Castilla y a Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dió COLON.

COLON is another name for COLUMBUS.

⁷ See p. 197, *ante*.

Father. Within the walls of a convent at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506, were heard these last words spoken by COLUMBUS in this world; and, beneath the church of that city, his remains were first laid. Thence, they were removed to Seville, where, twenty years afterwards, the remains of his son Diego were deposited in the same grave. In 1536, the bodies of the father and the son were both carried across that wide ocean which he had been the first to traverse, and interred in the cathedral of St. Domingo. And thence, and for the last time,—upon the cession of St. Domingo to the French, in 1795,—they were removed, with solemn honours, to Havannah, in the Isle of Cuba, where they now rest^a.

^a Washington Irving's *Life, &c.* iv. 66, &c. Prescott, in his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, iii. 228, *note*, quoting from Abbott's '*Letters from Cuba*,' says, that 'on the left of the grand altar of this stately edifice is a bust of COLUMBUS, placed in a niche in the wall; and near it a silver urn, containing all that now remains of the illustrious voyager.'

ADDRESS IV.

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

ONE of the chief benefits, which it is intended to promote by the delivery of Addresses to Institutions like the present, is not only to turn the attention of its members to subjects which it may be profitable and interesting for them to contemplate, but to supply them also with those means of information which may facilitate their own enquiries, and which they may not always have the opportunity of collecting for themselves. And where, as in the instance now to be proposed to your consideration, the subject-matter of the Address is historical, and the so called facts connected with it have been represented by different writers in different characters, it becomes the imperative duty of the speaker to place before his hearers, fully and im-

partially, the evidence from which they can draw their own conclusions; and, if they would draw those conclusions aright, it becomes not less their duty to examine carefully the evidence thus produced, and to compare it diligently with the original documents from which it professes to be derived.

Indeed, without some such enquiry and reflection upon your own parts, it may be doubted whether any permanent advantage is likely to follow the mere act of your listening, for a certain period, to the statements that may be put before you. You may, indeed, have had the imagination excited, and the ear gratified, as you have listened to many of the Lectures which have been delivered to you by others in this hall. But they who have the most charmed you with their eloquence, will, I am sure, be the first to acknowledge, that, howsoever vivid may have been the impression made upon your minds at the moment by the words which they have spoken, its influence for good must be soon worn out, unless renewed and deepened by your own patient and thoughtful study.

Trusting, then, that I address myself to many who are anxious to deal in such a spirit as this with the subjects here offered

to their attention, I will at once state, that, in speaking to you, upon the present occasion, of SIR WALTER RALEGH, my desire is simply to put before you those testimonies which, amid the conflict of differing opinions, may help you in arriving at a right decision with respect to many of the acts imputed to him ; and to impress upon you the recollection of those circumstances which, amid all the dazzling splendour of his achievements, and the heavy clouds of his infirmities and reverses, still remain to teach us many a lesson of warning and encouragement.

The name of RALEGH possesses the interest which I have here ascribed to it, because it is connected with one of the most eventful periods of English history ; and because, of the distinguished men whose names still live in the pages of that history, he was ever found to be among the foremost. It was the age, for instance, in which England drew her sword to vindicate, upon the battle grounds of France and Flanders, the suffering Protestants of those countries from their oppressors ; and in which she equipped her fleets to withstand, as they did so resolutely and triumphantly, the Armada of Spain. In these and other conflicts, which England waged with France and with Spain, under

Elizabeth, the courage and skill of RALEGH were conspicuous, both in the field and upon the wave. It was the age, also, in which profound and subtle statesmen presided over the councils of England; and, in those councils, RALEGH not only took a part, but has left upon record, the principles which guided his judgment, and which still remain to testify the wisdom and the equity of his views. Again, it was the age, in which the literature of England made its most rapid advancement; in which she was enabled to point to Hooker, as the chief of her theologians; to Bacon, as her philosopher; to Shakspeare and to Spenser, as her poets. And RALEGH may well take his stand by the side of all these men. For, in his *History of the World*, he has vindicated the attributes of Almighty God and the counsels of His just Providence, with a power of truthful expression which Hooker has not surpassed. He has made also, in the same work, his appeal to principles of sound philosophy of which Bacon might have rejoiced to have been the champion. And if, in poetry, he yielded,—as all must yield,—the palm of excellence to the immortal Shakspeare, yet he shared the spirit, and gave utterance to his feelings in the measures, of a true poet. It was this com-

munity of thought and affection which bound him in such fast bonds of friendship with Spenser, and led the author of the *Fairy Queen* to describe RALEGH, in one of his most beautiful pastorals, as 'the Shepherd of the Ocean.' Once more, it was the age in which England first gained a footing in the New World; and unto RALEGH was given the authority to fit out and direct the many expeditions by which some of the earliest Colonies of England were acquired. Thus, in the language of Fuller,

'As the sons of Heth said unto Abraham, "Thou art a great prince among us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none shall withhold them from thee." So may we say to the memory of this worthy knight, Repose yourself in this our catalogue under what topick you please, of Statesman, Seaman, Souldier, Learned Writer, and what not? His worth unlocks our closest Cabinets, and provides both room and wellcome to entertain him¹.'

The year 1552, which witnessed the birth of him whose character has been thus described, was the last of Edward VI.; and, throughout the troubles of Mary's brief reign, the childhood of RALEGH was still passed in his birthplace, upon the south coast of Devon, in the parish of Budley. His father, who

¹ The History of the Worthies of England, p. 260.

occupied a farm, called Hayes, in that parish, was descended from an ancient family, long resident in the county of Devon; and his mother's maiden name was Champernon. Both parents had been married before; his father, twice; and his mother, once. And I shall have occasion hereafter to notice more particularly the three sons of her first marriage with Otho Gilbert, of Compton, in the same county. The youngest son of her second marriage was WALTER RALEGH.

I pass over the account which has been given of the manner in which his boyhood and youth were passed in England, with no other remark than that which Anthony Wood has left concerning him, whilst he was a member of Oriel College, Oxford, about the year 1568:

* where his natural parts being strangely advanced by academical learning, under the care of an excellent tutor, [he] became the ornament of the juniors; and was worthily esteemed a proficient in oratory and philosophy².

To the manner in which a portion of his youthful years was passed abroad, I must advert a little more minutely, because it will show how the first impulse to deeds of

² Athen. Oxon. ii. 235.

martial enterprise was given to him. In consequence of the sympathy, felt by our Queen Elizabeth, for the persecuted Protestants of France, and her determination to assist them by money and by arms, permission was granted to Henry Champernon, a near kinsman of WALTER RALEGH on his mother's side, to raise a troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, and join the French army under the command of the celebrated Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé. RALEGH was one of these volunteers; and several notices occur in his great work, *The History of the World*,—to which I shall have to direct your attention, bye-and-bye,—of the deep and eager interest which he took in the operations then carried on, and in most of which he bore a part. He remained in France for six years, from 1569 to 1576, perfecting himself not only in the knowledge and practice of military art, but acquiring also that proficiency in the accomplishments of the scholar and the statesman, which gained for him such conspicuous fame in later years.

From France, he returned for a very brief period to England. Immediately after which, we find him repairing to the Netherlands, and serving again as a volunteer, in defence of religious liberty, under the Prince

of Orange, against the tyranny of Philip II. of Spain, and the vile agent of his cruelties, the Duke of Alva.

Whilst thus engaged on land, we find circumstances occurring which turned also his attention to the sea. His second half-brother, Sir Humfrey Gilbert,—who had already served with success in the same wars with him³, and who, on account of his exploits in Ireland, had been appointed to the chief command in the province of Munster,—was the main cause of stimulating the spirit of RALEGH to such enterprises. Gilbert is described by Hume as ‘the gallant sea adventurer,’ who distinguished himself in the House of Commons, in the year 1571, as one of the foremost champions in defence of the Queen’s prerogative, in opposition to Robert Bell, a Puritan, who had brought forward a motion against the exclusive patent granted by Elizabeth to a company of merchants at Bristol⁴.

Strype also, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, speaks of him as ‘a learned knight and of a projecting head⁵.’ And the fullest proofs of the justice of this description, are

³ See the account of him by Sir Roger Williams in the *Somers’ Tracts*, i. 358, &c.

⁴ Hume, v. 184—186.

⁵ pp. 100—102.

to be found in the Discourse, published by Sir Humfrey Gilbert in 1576, for the purpose of proving the existence of a passage by the North-West to Cathaia and the East Indies; and in the disputation which he held upon that subject, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, with Anthonie Jenkinson, the most unwearied of English travellers in that or any other day. You will find both these given at length by Hakluyt in his most valuable Collection of Voyages⁶. And a comparison of the theories advanced by Gilbert in those documents with the history of his bold and persevering attempts to realize them, will show him to be an admirable specimen of the young men of that period, who are described by Shakspeare, as not being suffered 'to spend' their 'youth at home,' but sent

'Some to the wars, to try their fortune there,
Some, to discover islands far away'⁷.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert, therefore, was fitly chosen by Elizabeth, in 1578, to receive those ample powers which she then conferred

⁶ Hakluyt has been my most useful guide in the first Volume of my History of the Colonial Church; and the notices which I have here given of Sir Humfrey Gilbert are taken from that and other authorities referred to by me in the fourth chapter.

⁷ Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act i. s. 3.

upon him by Letters Patent, 'for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.' I dwell not now upon the terms of this charter^s; but will merely observe, that, in the first expedition, fitted out under its authority, RALEGH accompanied his brother. The expedition entirely failed in accomplishing its object; partly, through the falling away of many who had promised to accompany it, and whose courage failed them when the time of departure came; but more, by reason of an attack made upon it, after it had put out to sea, by a Spanish squadron, in which RALEGH was exposed to great danger, and which compelled Gilbert to return to harbour with the loss of one of his best ships and most valued officers.

And here, postponing, for a moment, the notice of RALEGH's proceedings for the next few years, I would briefly state, that, in 1583, Sir Humfrey Gilbert embarked upon a second expedition, under the authority of the same Letters Patent, and perished in a storm upon his passage homeward; having done little more, with reference to the general

^s I have gone carefully into the consideration of them in the fourth chapter of the History above-mentioned, and have especially pointed out the recognition which they contain of the faith professed by our Church.

objects of his mission, than taken formal possession of St. John's harbour in Newfoundland. The largest of the fleet of five sail, which at first set out with, but soon abandoned him, was equipped and manned at the sole charge of RALEGH, and called by his name. Some writers, indeed, have said that RALEGH actually embarked on board of her, as Vice-Admiral, under his brother. But this cannot have been the fact; for Gilbert thus writes, four days after he had landed at Newfoundland, in a letter which is still extant :

'I departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June with fve sailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke Rawley ran from me in faire and cleere weather, hauing a large winde. I pray you sollicit my brother Rawley to make them an example to all knaues⁹.'

In the same year, 1583, which witnessed the loss of the brave Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his younger brother, Sir Adrian, who had a large share of the same spirit of enterprise, received Letters Patent 'for the discoverie of the North-West passage.' RALEGH is again found assisting him in the preparations

⁹ Purchas's Pilgrims, iii. 808. Few narratives are more full of touching interest than that furnished by Haies of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's unhappy voyage. It is to be found in Hakluyt.

for that discovery ; and the command of it was entrusted, for three successive voyages, from 1585 to 1587, to the well-known navigator Davis, whose name still lives to designate the straits which separate Greenland from the most Northern provinces of North America.

We have, then, in the history of these two half-brothers of RALEGH, sufficient proof of the prominent part taken by them in the efforts, made at this period, to extend the commerce and maritime power of England. And, since the honour of knighthood was extended also to John Gilbert, their eldest brother, the fair presumption is, that he too resembled them in zeal and energy. It is a remarkable instance of that similarity of character and pursuits which is found, not unfrequently, to distinguish members of the same family. And, if the celebrated officer, in the present day, who unites in his own person the honoured names of Walter Raleigh Gilbert, be, as it would seem probable, a descendant of those illustrious men, children of the same mother, who once bore the same names, we have a renewal of the like qualities of courage, and skill, and zeal, and perseverance,—in kinsmen, separated from each other by an interval of nearly three centu-

ries,—to which the history of the world can furnish but few, if any, parallels¹.

Resuming the history of RALEGH, from the time when he returned home with Humfrey Gilbert, after their fruitless attempt to sail to the New World, we find that the next few years of his life were passed in military services in Ireland. The occasion which called for them was the rebellion, which had broken out in the province of Munster, under the Earl of Desmond and others, and which the assistance of Spanish and Italian troops under the Pope's banner, had made most formidable. I dwell not upon the story of a contest, disgraced more than most others by the commission of atrocious cruelties, further than to observe, that some of the most wondrous deeds of valour then exhibited were those which the annalists of that day have united in ascribing to WALTER RALEGH.

Let us follow him thence to the next scene of his life,—a scene of dazzling glory indeed, and yet beset with dangers which proved ultimately to him so fatal,—the Court of our

¹ It is hardly necessary to observe, that I refer to that officer of the Bengal army, whose name is identified with all the most successful operations of our forces against the Sikhs in the last as well as in the preceding campaigns.

Queen Elizabeth. You all remember, probably, the circumstances which are reported to have led to his introduction into her Court. But, from whatsoever source you have derived your knowledge of the story, I think, you will admit that it is no where told in terms of more amusing quaintness than by the historian Fuller.

‘This Captain RALEGH,’ he relates, ‘coming out of Ireland to the English court in good habit (his cloaths being then a considerable part of his estate) found the Queen walking, till meeting with a plashy place, she seemed to scruple going thereon. Presently RALEGH cast and spread his new plush cloak on the ground, whereon the Queen trod gently, rewarding him afterwards with many suits, for his so free and seasonable tender of so fair a foot cloath ².’

Sir Robert Naunton also states,

‘that, among the second causes of RALEGH’s growth (not denying, or rather acquiescing in his actions and accomplishments to have been the first), that variance between him and the lord Grey ³, in his descent into Ireland, was the principal; for it drew them both over to the council-table there to plead their cause; where (what advantage he had in the cause he knows not, but) he had much the better in telling of his tale; and

² The History of the Worthies of England, 262.

³ Lord Grey of Wilton, under whom, as deputy-governor of Ireland, RALEGH had served.

so much, that the queen and the lords took no slight mark of the man and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the queen and the lords.—And though he does not determine, whether the lord Leicester had then cast in a good word for RALEGH to the queen, yet says, it is true that he had gotten the queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: and the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea, those he relied on began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm; to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his ⁴.

This testimony is sufficient to prove the perils to which the sudden rise of RALEGH to the Queen's favour exposed him. But, leaving for the present the notice of Court intrigues, and referring you to the many well-known sources of information that are at hand, for an account of all that complicated train of events which is identified with the persons and actions of the sagacious Burleigh, the profligate Leicester, the frank-hearted Sussex, and the accomplished Sidney, I ask you to look only to the course pursued by RALEGH. It was a course which unquestionably proved his hearty determination to devote his energies and influence

⁴ *Fragmenta Regalia*, quoted in Oldys's *Life*, &c., p. 46.

to the service of his country. I have already, by anticipation, pointed out to you two signal proofs of this in the assistance which he gave to both his half-brothers, Humfrey and Adrian Gilbert, in their respective enterprises, in 1583. And we shall now find, that, after tidings had been brought home of the loss of the former, and the failure of his attempt to 'plant our people in America;' and whilst the latter was planning the expeditions,—which to this hour seem destined never to be successful,—for discovering a way to India and China by the North-West passage, RALEGH received from his Sovereign a charter, authorizing him to plant such lands in the Western World as might be discovered under its authority. The charter bears date the 25th of March, 1584; and, before the end of that year, the two vessels which he sent out, under the command of Amadas and Barlowe, returned home with the intelligence that they had discovered the two Islands of Wococon and Roanoak, off a portion of the American coast which the natives called Wingandacoa. This territory was forthwith claimed by England as her own; and, as a present evidence of the power about to be established there, its native title was exchanged for that of Vir-

ginia, by the command, and in honour, of the virgin Queen Elizabeth ⁴.

I stop not here to consider the character of the claim which England thus presumed to exercise. An opportunity for discussing such a question may be found more conveniently hereafter. I am now only calling your attention to facts as they occurred. And it is enough to say, that the course pursued, in the present instance, by England, was that which she had already pronounced lawful, in the Letters Patent which Henry VII. granted in 1496-7 to Sebastian Cabot (and by virtue of which Newfoundland, and a considerable portion of the North American continent, were explored by that navigator), and also in those which Elizabeth had just before conferred upon Sir Humfrey Gilbert. It was the course likewise followed, uniformly and without any hesitation, by Portugal, and Spain, and France. And, in the case of the two former of those countries, all doubts that may have arisen with respect to the questionable character of such proceedings, had been disposed of by the presumptuous fiat of the

⁴ The country first called Virginia is that which now bears the name of North Carolina ; and the original name is confined to the province immediately adjoining it on the North.

Vatican, awarding to the one the richest territories of the Eastern, and to the other all those of the Western hemisphere ⁶.

The Patent, under which RALEGH had received authority to occupy the countries which he might discover in the West, was confirmed in December, 1584, by Act of Parliament. He had then been recently elected a member of the House of Commons. In a few weeks afterwards he received the honour of knighthood, which was quickly followed by his appointment to the offices of Captain of the Guard, Seneschal of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries. He obtained also the licence for vending wines throughout the kingdom, and an ample share of the forfeited estates of the rebel Earl of Desmond in the province of Munster, which he undertook to plant and improve. The enlarged means thus placed at the command of RALEGH, were diligently employed by him in renewed attempts to plant an English settlement in Virginia: insomuch that, in the four years next following that in which Amadas and Barlowe had returned after their first discovery of that region, four

⁶ The grant to Portugal was made by Pope Eugene IV. towards the middle of the fifteenth century; and that to Spain, at its close, by Alexander VI. See pp. 199. 228, *ante*.

more expeditions were fitted out for the purpose of colonizing it, at his charge, and under his superintendence, though not his personal command⁷. One of these, indeed, failed, through adverse circumstances, in reaching the shores of the new country. But, by the agency of the other three, some intercourse with its people was established, and some knowledge of its productions acquired. Indeed, a band of a hundred settlers was left upon the Island of Roanoak by Lane, who commanded the first of these expeditions; another body of fifteen was left in the same place by Sir Richard Greenville, who commanded the second; and a third colony, of a hundred and fifty men, was afterwards sent out under the direction of Governor White. But all these attempts to plant Virginia failed miserably. The first, although guided by the courage and skill of Amadas, and the science of the celebrated mathematician Hariot, was, in a few months, made abortive through want of provisions, and the harassing warfare of the natives; and the survivors were only saved from extermination by the timely arrival of Sir Francis Drake, who,

⁷ In a recent edition of Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, it is stated that RALEGH went in person to Virginia; but this statement is quite contrary to fact.

having touched on their coast, and ascertained their distress, embarked them on board his fleet, and brought them home. Of the second band of settlers, no tidings were ever heard. They perished probably upon the spot; for the bones of one of them were found by White's people upon their arrival; the fort, built for their protection, was rased to the ground; the lower rooms of their houses, which were left standing, were overgrown with melons; and deer were seen within them, quietly feeding upon the fruit*. Of the third colony likewise no tidings were ever heard. When White, its governor, came home, at the earnest entreaty of its members, for supplies, the whole of England was occupied in making preparations to resist the formidable Armada of Spain; and, although he obtained from RALEGH two small pinnaces for the relief of his party, yet these, having fallen in with enemies at sea, were compelled to put back disabled, and the colony was heard of no more. RALEGH, indeed, spared no pains in searching for his men; and, five several times, sent out agents for that purpose; but, either through their negligence or their dishonesty, his charitable

* Hakluyt, iii. 343.

designs were frustrated⁹. And it is only left for us to hope, that the tradition which has been received of those our poor deserted countrymen may be true, which states, that, instead of falling a prey to hunger or the scalping-knife, they became gradually merged among the neighbouring sons of the forest, the Hatteras Indians¹.

But, although the history of the earliest relations of England with Virginia was a history of such disastrous failure, I have said that some intercourse with its native inhabitants was established, and some knowledge of its productions acquired by them. And these may not be passed by without notice. We are indebted for them mainly to the Report drawn up by Hariot, who, having been the mathematical preceptor of RALEGH, and employed by him in giving the benefit of his varied knowledge to the first settlement at Roanoak, has left on record a most interesting account of his intercourse with the natives of that Island and the adjacent continent. He describes their admiration of

⁹ Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 163.

¹ Bancroft states, in his History of the United States, that this tradition 'was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and Indian race seem to have been blended.' i. 108.

the mathematical instruments, and glasses, and clocks, and guns, and books, which the English showed to them; their reverence for the superior wisdom of the English, which such works evinced, and which, they believed, the gods only could have taught; their desire to learn the Holy Scriptures, which Hariot taught and explained to them, and to be present at the public worship of the English, and to be prayed for by them in sickness².

The train of feeling pursued by Hariot, throughout the whole of his narrative, is not only highly creditable to himself, and a direct refutation of the charges which have been urged with respect to the integrity of his own religious faith, but is valuable also for the light it throws upon the fair and equitable character of the schemes of colonization projected by RALEGH and others in that day. We are thankful to say, it is not a solitary evidence upon this subject. Haies, the companion of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and the narrator of his unhappy voyage, has left on record some most valuable remarks touching the proper objects of foreign discovery, and the spirit in which it ought to

² Hakluyt, iii. 337.

be conducted. He confesses that a glorious opportunity had been given, by the discoveries then recently made by European nations, to sow the seed of eternal life in different heathen lands; and that a full and precious harvest might even then have been gathered in. He distinctly admits that this

‘must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance. And although,’ he adds, ‘we cannot precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God), what haue bene the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the euent do shew that either God’s cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.’—Meanwhile, he urges it ‘as the duty of every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct or inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions; which, if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore cannot haue confidence of God’s protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistible) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation. Otherwise, if his motiues be derived from a vertuous and heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore

infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most wonderful and dreadfull manner over their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well-disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an action beyond expectation of man³.

A like testimony is supplied in the Report, which has come down to us of the same voyage, by Sir George Peckham, who was, as he states in the title of the work, its 'chief adventurer and furtherer.' Having given an account of its progress and result, almost in the very words of Haies, from whom he states that he had received it, he goes on to prove, that

'the voyage lately enterprized for trade, traffique and planting in America, was an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie⁴.'

Some of the arguments, indeed, by which the worthy knight endeavours to prove these several propositions, are more ingenious than

³ Hakluyt, iii. 184—203.

⁴ Ib. 208—227.

sound. But, with these exceptions, his work is a striking evidence of the wise and benevolent spirit with which Englishmen then sought to enter upon the work of colonization⁵. And, when it is remembered, that RALEGH was directly and closely connected with the enterprises that were advocated, in such a manner, by such men; and that Hariot, his preceptor and friend, not only bore a prominent part in the earliest efforts to plant Virginia under his direction, but has left on record the means by which, and the end towards which, he carried them on; we cannot doubt but that he must have shared the spirit of these his associates, have sympathized with their feelings, and have approved of their acts. The extension of Christian truth by the extension of the Christian name was declared by them to be the only proper ground upon which any enterprise, for opening and maintaining

⁵ I have given a summary of the arguments of Peckham, Haies, and Hariot, in the fourth and fifth chapters of my History of the Colonial Church; and the reader who wishes to see them *in extenso*, will find them in those pages of Hakluyt to which I have referred above. It is satisfactory to be enabled to state, that the conclusion which I have derived thence, as to the enlightened views of colonization entertained by these men, is amply confirmed in the well-known Article upon RALEGH which appeared in April, 1840, in the Edinburgh Review, No. cxliii. 10.

intercourse with heathen lands, could be established, or made to prosper. And that RALEGH freely acknowledged the justice of this principle, and did what in him lay to promote it, is evident from the offering of one hundred pounds, which he gave 'for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia,' when he surrendered, in 1588-9, his rights over that province into other hands.

The constant difficulties which RALEGH had been compelled to encounter, and the apparent impossibility of overcoming them by his single strength, were quite a sufficient justification for his availing himself of the opportunity, at that time presented to him, of transferring the whole business to Sir Thomas Smith, and a Company of Merchants in London. But it is important to observe, that, although he thus relinquished the formal superintendence of expeditions in which, for so long a time, he had been engaged, he did not entirely sever the bonds which had connected his name with them. He was still ready to assist the Company with his advice and interest. And his offering, to which I have just called your attention, is not only a token of his reverence for that truth which shall survive all the changing counsels of a changing world, and

of his desire to facilitate its progress, amid the excitements and reverses of his own perilous career ; but, further, deserves gratefully to be acknowledged, as the first recorded offering avowedly made by any Englishman for such a purpose. I need not remind you of the many and powerful instruments, which are now in operation, in behalf of the same purpose. And, wheresoever they are found acting in real consistency with their professed objects, let us heartily wish them God speed, impart to them fresh energy, and uphold them patiently and hopefully. But let us not forget, that he who led the way to this glorious work, in an age in which it was yet to be begun by England, and who thereby invested 'the ancient and heroical work of plantations' with its proper dignity, was
WALTER RALEGH.

Before I proceed to trace the sequel of his career, I must remind you, for an instant, of that knowledge of the productions of the New World which, I have already said, was acquired by his relations with Virginia, and a reference to which is, indeed, hardly separable from the mention of his name. One of these productions,—then introduced

into and disseminated, not only throughout our own Islands, but all the civilized nations of the world,—is the vegetable described by Hariot, under the name of Openawk, as having the roots round, and ‘hanging together as if fixed on ropes, and good for food, either boiled or roasted.’ This vegetable has since formed, and still forms, the chief or entire food of many thousands of our countrymen ; and the extensive destruction of it, by withering blight, in late years, has created a distress, the effects of which are still felt by the whole of the United Kingdom. But, whilst the introduction of the potatoe bears witness to one important result of the discoveries made, under RALEGH’s authority, in the New World, that of tobacco has led to consequences not less remarkable, in the extent of service which it seems to render to the enjoyment of so vast a body of our people, and in the amount of revenue which it yields to the State. This herb had been discovered by the French navigator, Jaques Cartier, as early as the year 1535, in his second voyage to Canada ; and the following report was then given of it :

‘ There groweth a certain kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer [the Indians] make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vse

of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beast's skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow piece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health; they neuer goe without some of it about them. We ourselues have tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes it seemed almost as hot as Pepper⁷.

Camden, in his *Life of Elizabeth*, thus speaks of its introduction into England, by the men who came back from Roanoak under Lane:

'These men who were thus brought back were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia⁸, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly, from that time forward, it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst in a short time many men every where, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness suck'd in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe,

⁷ Hakluyt, iii. 276.

⁸ So called from Jean Nicot, the French ambassador, who brought it out of Portugal into France some years before.

which presently they blew out again at their nostrils; insomuch that tobacco shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmen's bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant seem as 'twere to be degenerated into the nature of Barbarians, since they are delighted with the same things which the Barbarians use*.

I know not whether I am speaking to any who, in their own persons, can bear witness to the accuracy of these representations; who 'for wantonness, or health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness suck in the stinking smoke' of this herb, 'through an earthen pipe,' and 'sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney.' If any such lovers of tobacco are now before me, I leave it for them to say whether they are content to admit the justice of the saying that is here quoted for wit, and to confess themselves 'degenerated into the nature of Barbarians, since they are delighted with the same things which the Barbarians use.' But, be that question decided as it may, they will at least have the satisfaction of knowing, from the wide-spread prevalence of the

* Camden, in Bishop Kennet's History of England, ii. 509.

custom, that they cannot now be exposed to the mishap which is reported once to have befallen RALEGH, whilst he was indulging, privately, in his study, the newly-discovered luxury.

‘His servant,’ it is said, ‘who used to wait on him there, surprising him one time with his tankard of ale and nutmeg as he was intent upon his book, before he had done his pipe; and seeing the smoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale in his face; then running down stairs alarmed the family with repeated exclamations that his master was on fire, and before they could get up would be burnt to ashes.’

Oldys relates this story, in his *Life of RALEGH*¹; and proceeds to say;

‘This, if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparalleled simplicity, than there was in that poor Norwegian, who upon the first sight of roses could not be induced to touch, though he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire; or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those Virginians themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable, in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies.’

It is not the least remarkable fact con-

¹ Prefixed to the Oxford edition of RALEGH's Works, i. 73, 74.

nected with the history of this herb, that the revenue, arising from the duty levied upon its importation into the United Kingdom, has now, in its gross amount, exceeded the astonishing sum of three millions and a half a year. And, when to this are added the charges, involved in the cultivation of tobacco in countries in which it is of indigenous growth, and in the cost of its transport to this country, we shall find that the effect which the discovery of this single herb has produced in the commerce of our own and other nations, has been as great as that which it has created in the habits of their people.

Returning now to our review of the personal career of RALEGH, we may remember that it was stated, as a reason for his not being able to send immediate supplies, in 1588, to his distressed people in Virginia, that he was then occupied, in common with all Englishmen, in preparing the necessary means of resistance against the Spanish Armada. We find him, accordingly, summoned by the Queen to the Council of War which had been convened for that special object, and in the deliberations of which his experience of military and naval affairs, his knowledge of the resources of his own

country, and his long consideration of the means by which she could cope most successfully with Spain, enabled him to bear a prominent part. But it was not to the deliberations of the Council Board that his services were then confined. In common with the lieutenants of the other maritime countries, he raised and set in order the land-forces of Cornwall, and put himself at their head, to repel the enemy if he should descend upon that coast. And, as soon as he learnt that the struggle was to take place not upon the land but at sea, and that the proud Armada was already sailing up the Channel, with Drake, and Hawkins, and Frobisher in hot pursuit, he left his troops on land to the command of others; and, joining instantly the English fleet, 'with a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen,' took part in all the fights which ensued between the Isle of Portland and Calais.

In the next year, we find RALEGH engaged in an expedition to Portugal, for the purpose of replacing Antonio upon that throne of which he had been dispossessed by Philip of Spain. And, although it failed of success, his services in it were requited by further marks of favour from the Queen.

The scene now changes, for a time, to

Ireland, whither he repaired to visit the estates that had been granted to him in former years. This visit is chiefly memorable for the acquaintance and friendship which it led RALEGH to form with the poet Spenser, who,

‘one day sat (as was’ his ‘trade)
Under the feet of Mole, that mountaine hore,
Keeping’ his ‘sheepe amongst the cooly shade
Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore.’

Thither, he says, ‘the Shepherd of the Ocean’ came unto him,—denoting, by that name, as I have already remarked, no other than RALEGH himself²,—who,

‘Sitting beside me in that same shade,
Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit;
And when he heard the musicke which I made,
He found himselfe full greatly pleas’d at it:
Yet, æmuling my pipe, he tooke in hond
My pipe, before that æmuled of many,
And plaid thereon; (for well that skill he con’d;)
Himselfe as skilfull in that art as any³.’

The visit ended not in the mere interchange of these friendly greetings, and this skilful playing of the poet’s pipe; for RALEGH, admiring the beauty and the strength

² See p. 270, *ante*.

³ The Pastoral of ‘Colin Clout.’ Spenser’s Works, viii. 8.

of Spenser's muse, prevailed upon him to accompany him to the English Court; and there, with generous zeal, introducing him to the notice of Elizabeth, enabled him to publish, under the most favourable auspices, his immortal poem of *The Fairy Queen* ⁴.

' The shepherd of the ocean, quoth he,
Unto the goddess' grace me first enhanc'd :
And to my oaten pipe inclin'd her ear,
That she thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,
And it desir'd at timely hours to hear;
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight.'

But it was not only to promote the interest of one with whom he had a kindred poetical spirit, that RALEGH thus exerted the influence which he had acquired. He interceded, with not less zeal, in behalf of the Puritan, John Udall, who had been condemned to death, and succeeded in obtaining for him remission from that sentence. And, hearing, upon another occasion, that a sum of money, long due from the Government to an aged and wounded officer of the name of Spring, had not been paid to him, he applied

⁴ Mr. Tytler has clearly shown, in his valuable *Life of RALEGH* in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, pp. 116—120, that the patronage of Spenser is to be ascribed mainly to him, and not, as is commonly supposed, to Sir Philip Sidney.

for it to the Lord Treasurer's secretary in a letter, the terms of which, still extant, abundantly prove his hearty and earnest sympathy with the brave man for whom he pleaded. So willing, indeed, was he to enter upon such kind offices, and with such unwearied importunity did he prosecute them, that it is reported of Queen Elizabeth, upon hearing him, one day, say he had a favour to beg of her, that she exclaimed, 'When, Sir Walter, will you cease to be a beggar?' To which he replied, with exquisite grace and readiness, 'When your gracious majesty ceases to be a benefactor.'

The largeness of heart and soul thus manifested by RALEGH in support of the living, was extended also to the vindication of the dead. And no more memorable instance of it can be found than in the Report drawn up by him, in 1591, of the action which his kinsman, the gallant Sir Richard Greenvill, fought, single-handed, in his ship the *Revenge*, against a Spanish fleet at the Azores. Reproaches had been cast upon the memory of that officer, who had fallen in the unequal fight, for his conduct in the previous proceedings of the expedition. And RALEGH proves the utter groundlessness of those reproaches, sets forth the

almost incredible deeds of valour then exhibited by Greenvill, and condemns, with unsparing rigour, the wicked policy of Spain, with a vigour and clearness of language not to be surpassed even by the best writers in that palmy day of our literature. The Edinburgh Reviewer, to whose Article on the Life of RALEGH I have before referred, does not bestow too high praise upon this narrative 'of perhaps the most astonishing conflict ever delineated by any pen,' when he declares, that there 'may without hyperbole be said of it, as was by Sir Philip Sidney said of 'the old song of Percie and Douglas,' that it more moves the heart than a trumpet ⁵.'

And here, the grateful associations with RALEGH's name, which the recital of such acts awakens in our minds, are interrupted by another of a different character. Whilst engaged in an expedition, entrusted to his command, in 1592, for the joint purposes of attacking Panama, and intercepting the Spanish Plate fleet,—an expedition, which speedily brought home to England the largest and richest prize ever yet lodged within her harbours,—we find the anger of

⁵ Edinburgh Review, No. cxliii. 17. The Narrative itself is to be found in the Collection made by the indefatigable Hakluyt.

the Queen kindled against him, and the gates of the Tower opened, at her command, to receive him, upon his return, a prisoner. Had this been the mere result of the plottings of his enemies at Court, no stain would thereby, of necessity, have been cast upon the character of RALEGH. But truth compels us to state, that, however questionable may have been the exercise of the royal power upon this occasion, he could not fully plead innocence of the charge which led to it. The fact that one of the Queen's maids of honour, a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, to whom he had been privately married, was made the partner of his imprisonment, is a sufficient indication of the truth of the suspicions entertained, that, before their marriage, an unhallowed intimacy had been permitted to take place. And, although the subsequent course of their wedded life was one of mutual confidence and love, and, amid his severest distresses, he was solaced by the undeviating attentions of her who had united her fortunes with his own, neither the record of the offence and of the peril which it provoked can thereby be effaced, nor the sorrow, which is awakened by the acknowledgment of it, be removed.

The imprisonment of RALEGH was of brief

duration. And if, as it is alleged, his letter to Cecil, describing the personal charms of Elizabeth, then verging upon her sixtieth year, and his grief at being debarred the sight of them, were the chief cause of his release, we are only left to wonder at the extent of those debasing influences,—increased, if not created, by the fashion of the times,—which could have tempted him to have written, or her to have received, expressions of such extravagant and fulsome compliment.

Upon his exertions in Parliament, after his release, I dwell no further than to remark, that the notices of them still extant bear out the justice of the description of them by his biographers ;

‘that his speeches were full of reason and eloquence, no man in his days being more a master of language than himself,—and none more satisfactorily confirming his arguments with facts and experience than he did, even in his unpremeditated speeches, no less than in the more deliberate compositions of his pen ⁶.’

About the year 1594, he obtained from the Queen a grant of the manor of Sherborne,—a proof, that he was regarded as able and willing to do her service, although still

⁶ Oldys's Life, &c. 167.

debarred from the Court,—and a great part of his time was occupied in embellishing it ‘with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight’.⁷ But a design of far higher interest then took possession of his mind. It was that of securing, as a field for the profitable exercise of English industry and commerce, a portion of the large territory of South America, called Guiana, lying between the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco. That region, or another adjacent to it, had been looked upon, for many years, as a perfect treasure-house of wealth. Its rocks were represented as streaked with gold. Gold sparkled upon its sands. Gold also was the dust, thrown over the persons of its princes in sacrifice. And its city, Manoa, rising up amid the transparent waters of a lake, shot forth a dazzling brightness from its roofs of gold. And hence the name, which Spanish conquerors had bestowed upon it, of *El Dorado*, or ‘The Golden.’

RALEGH had long been acquainted with the accounts which the Spanish poets and historians had published of the wonders of that region. And, although they had yet to be verified by the test of actual discovery, he

⁷ Oldys's *Life*, &c. 175.

doubted not their existence, any more than did many other intelligent and enquiring spirits among the civilized nations of the world. Believing that El Dorado had not been brought to light, only because the search for it had not been rightly made, he sent to Trinidad, in 1594, an agent, Captain Whiddon, to gain for him information respecting the entrance of the Orinoco. No information of any value was obtained. Nevertheless, having equipped, at his own charge and that of other men high in office, a squadron of five vessels, he sailed, as its commander, from Plymouth, in February, 1595. Leaving his ships at Trinidad, he proceeded, with his people in boats, to the main land of South America, entering it by the Orinoco, and wandering, as he says, 'four hundred miles into the said country by land and by river.' After enduring 'many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril,' he was compelled, by the sudden rise of the waters of the river, to abandon his search, and return home, 'a beggar, and withered.' These are the expressions employed by him in the Epistle with which he dedicated, in the following year, to the Lord High Admiral and Sir Robert Cecil, his published account of the discoveries which

he had made, and the information which he had received, in the voyage. He was compelled to put forth this statement, in order to refute the many evil reports which his enemies had put in circulation against him ; some, declaring that he 'was too easy and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travel ;' others, that he had proclaimed his intentions out of mere 'bravado,' and was, all the time, 'hidden in Cornwall, or elsewhere ;' and others, hesitating not to say even that he 'would rather become a servant to the Spanish King, than return.' RALEGH adverts and refers to these shameful calumnies in terms which amply prove his integrity ; and I rejoice to find, that, in the pages of that Review, to which I have already referred, an acknowledgment is made most explicitly to this effect.

'There can be no doubt,' says the Reviewer, 'if human purposes can be at all scanned, that his whole soul was filled with the confident expectation of making an acquisition which, if beneficial to himself, would also prove greatly beneficial to his country *.'

But the enemies who assailed RALEGH, upon this subject during his life, seem not to have dealt with him more unjustly than

* Edinburgh Review, ut sup. 24.

those who have since impugned the authority of the narrative which he has left behind him. Hume, for instance, says of it, that it is 'full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed upon the credulity of mankind'.⁹ And the terms of this sentence are sufficient to prove that Hume could not have read with care the narrative which he condemns. Nay, it is remarkable that Hume does not quote directly from RALEGH's narrative at all, but only at second-hand from Camden's description of it. And even that description he has noticed so cursorily, as to misrepresent its true meaning. Camden, it is true, speaks of certain fabulous stories which RALEGH had related, and also represents 'the sanguine complexion of his own hopes and desires,' as a motive which had induced him to listen to them. But then he distinctly adds, what is clearly enough stated in the narrative itself, that these stories were derived by RALEGH 'from the writings of the Spaniards, and upon his credit and report of the barbarians':—a very different description from that which Hume,

⁹ Hume's History, v. 392.

¹ Mr. Tytler has exposed, with great force and clearness, this and other unfair statements of Hume, in the Appendix to his Life of RALEGH.

upon the authority of Camden, has given of RALEGH's narrative. It is one thing to receive, with over-much readiness, the account of marvels which have been reported by others, and another thing to invent 'the grossest and most palpable lies' for the purpose of imposing 'upon the credulity of mankind.' Here again, let me cite, as a wise and just arbiter in this matter, the writer whom I have already quoted.

'For our own part, though we cannot pretend to determine the extent of RALEGH's probity, or to ascertain by any exact scale the measure of his belief, we have never been able to see why things incredible to us, should be viewed as incredible to those living at a period uninstructed by our science, undisciplined by our researches, unguided by our experience. The human mind is so constituted as to be revolted at one time by that which, at another, meets its ready assent and belief. All sound reasoning, in a word, seems to authorize the conclusion that RALEGH might have honestly believed all the marvels he recites; and though his recitals may have been, and doubtless were, sometimes exaggerated, or coloured by hues reflected from his own imagination, we are inclined to think that his belief was, in the main, sincere.'

And then, adverting to Hume's unjust condemnation of RALEGH's narrative, the writer adds, that Hume

‘not only speaks in ignorance of the facts of the case, but forgets that the man whom he thus coarsely censures, did not, like him, view the fables connected with Guiana, from the vantage-ground of an enlightened and scientific age².’

It were needless for us now to enter into any minute account of these stories, or of the adventures which RALEGH and his party experienced in their attempts to reach the country in which he expected to find them realized. But, as a sample of RALEGH’s powers of description, I may cite the following passage.

‘When we run to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli: and might from that mountain see how the river ran in three parts above twenty miles off; and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain: and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more

² Edinburgh Review, ut sup. 30.

beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand, easy to march on either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stopped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion. Your lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun; and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks.—It shall be found a weak policy in me, either to betray myself or my country with imaginations; neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth³.

Upon the return of RALEGH from Guiana, he suffered neither the disappointments which he had experienced in his voyage, nor the reproaches which men strove to cast upon him at home, to deter him from resuming intercourse with its native chiefs, and obtain-

³ The Discovery of Guiana. RALEGH's Works, viii, 442.

ing further information respecting the country. Accordingly, he sent thither, in 1596 and the following year, as his agents, two officers of great experience and courage, Keymis and Bertie. But no substantial or permanent results appear to have followed. Meanwhile, the conspicuous part which he took, during that period, in those two memorable expeditions, which led, first, to the capture of Cadiz and the destruction of the Spanish fleet within its harbour; and, secondly, to the capture of Fayal, a chief Island of the Azores; prove the zealous, intrepid, and persevering spirit with which he devoted himself to his country's service. The success of both the expeditions was mainly owing to his advice and daring hardihood. That of the last, indeed, was achieved wholly under his direction. He was severely wounded in the first of these; having 'received,' as he says in his written account of the action, 'a grievous blow in his leg, interlaced and deformed with splinters;' in consequence of which, he adds, although he 'wanted not good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usage,' he had 'possession of nought but poverty and pain.'

⁴ A Relation of Cadiz Action. RALEGH's Works, viii. 673, 674.

It may readily be supposed, that, whilst RALEGH was engaged in rendering these and other services in behalf of his country, he recovered, to a great degree, the favour of his Sovereign. And this we find to have been the case. His re-appointment to the office of Captain of the Guard, and his re-admission to a share in the confidential councils of the Queen, took place in the interval between the two expeditions which have just been mentioned. And, after his return from the latter, another evidence of Elizabeth's favour towards him was shown by his appointment to the governorship of Jersey. But, better had it been for RALEGH, if he had turned again to the banks of the Orinoco, or occupied himself only in the embellishment of his gardens and orchards at Sherborne, and in conversation with those literary and scientific men with whom he loved to associate. To return, as he now did, within the precincts of the Court, was to expose himself, once more, to influences which speedily wrought his downfall.

The first of these is to be found in the relations which sprang up between him and Essex. A hostile feeling towards RALEGH had already been created in the mind of Essex, in consequence of his having presumed

to make the attack upon Fayal, before Essex, who was the chief commander, had come up with the rest of the fleet. And, although RALEGH clearly proved that it was his duty to have made that attack, and Essex professed himself satisfied, and, upon his return to England, was even indebted to RALEGH's friendly offices in effecting a reconciliation with Secretary Cecil; yet, soon after Essex had gone as Viceroy to Ireland, in 1599, we find him writing to Elizabeth in terms of bitter enmity against RALEGH⁵. And this enmity he pursued, until he was summoned to suffer death upon the scaffold, in 1600-1, for his own insane acts of treason.

And here, if you turn to Hume, you will find him giving a description of RALEGH which, if true, must excite in our minds the deepest abhorrence of him. He says that RALEGH

'came to the Tower on purpose, and beheld Essex's execution from the window, and increased much by this action the general hatred, under which he already laboured. It was thought, that he had no other purpose than to feast his eyes with the death of his enemy; and no apology, which he could make for so exceptionable a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animosity, with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented, were

⁵ Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, ii. 418.

still regarded as the principles of this unmanly and ungenerous behaviour⁶.

It never seems to have been remembered by Hume that RALEGH's duty, as Captain of the Guard, compelled him to be present at the execution; a circumstance, which ought surely to have exonerated him from the cruel charge thus brought against him. And, if Hume thought fit to state the evil interpretation put upon this act by others, he ought, at least, in common justice, to have added the answer which RALEGH himself made publicly to it, when his own last hour came. These are his words:

'It is said that I was a prosecutor of the death of the Earl of Essex, and that I stood in a window over against him when he suffered in the Tower, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him. I take God to witness that I had no hand in his blood, and was none of those that procured his death. I shed tears for him when he died; and, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered; for I was afar off in the Armoury, where I saw him, but he saw not me. I was heartily sorry for him, though I confess I was of a contrary faction, and helped to pluck him down; but in respect of his worth I loved him, and I knew that it would be worse with me, when he was gone; for I got the hate of those that wished me well before; and those that set me

⁶ Hume, v. 448.

against him afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies. My soul hath many times since been grieved, that I was not nearer to him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me⁷.

So much for the first part of Hume's charge against RALEGH upon this occasion. As for the second part of it, which speaks of 'the cruelty and animosity, with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented,' I have to remark that the only evidence, upon which it rests, is a Letter from RALEGH to Cecil in Murdin's State Papers, which Mr. Jardine, in his valuable edition of Criminal Trials, has shown is not only without a date, but that the date of its endorsement is erroneous, and that it was written probably before the trial of Essex; and, further, that its language does not necessarily refer to the execution of that nobleman⁸. Upon such uncertain grounds has Hume ventured to rest his grave charges against the character of RALEGH!

There is another imputation, indeed, affect-

⁷ Criminal Trials, published by Mr. Jardine, in The Library of Entertaining Knowledge, i. 507.

⁸ *Ib. note.* The author of the Article in the Edinburgh Review, ut sup. 38, expresses his opinion to the same effect, although he makes no reference to that already given by Mr. Jardine.

ing his character, which, I fear, cannot be so easily removed. It is that which shows him to have received sums of money for the pardons which he obtained in favour of certain adherents of the Earl of Essex. The excuse, which the Edinburgh Reviewer offers on behalf of RALEGH, in this matter, namely, 'that in what he thus did, he did only what was done by those amongst whom he lived, and by whom his conduct was to be judged,' is, no doubt, admissible⁹. But, the stain on RALEGH's name is not thereby wiped off. And, to whatsoever extent the argument may be allowed to plead in extenuation of his conduct, there can only be, I think, one feeling excited in our minds by the acknowledgment of it; a feeling of thankfulness, that our lot, in this respect at least, is cast in better days; and that to make an act of justice, or of beneficence, now dependent upon bribe, would be to commit an offence which neither the law, nor the usages of society, could tolerate, for a single moment.

The execution of the Earl of Essex, which has led to these remarks, was followed, in little more than two years, by the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James I.

⁹ Ib. 29.

And these events, in their turn, were quickly succeeded by the fall of RALEGH. His own words just quoted may best explain the chief cause of this disastrous issue. He had said, you will remember, that he 'knew that it would be worse with him when Essex was gone;' and that 'those who had set him against Essex, were afterwards set against himself.' He spoke these words with a bitter conviction of their truth. For it was Cecil, who, by a secret correspondence with James, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, had instilled into his mind the belief that RALEGH was in league with the party opposed to his succession to the throne of England. And RALEGH was soon made to feel the consequences of such an impression upon the King, by finding himself deprived, at the very commencement of his reign, of the office which he had so long held of Captain of the Guard, and also the lucrative patent for licensing the vendors of wine throughout the kingdom. But these were only the shadows of the coming storm, which soon burst upon RALEGH. And, within four months from the accession of James, he was committed to the Tower, upon the charge of conspiring treasonably against the King.

Conspiracies, doubtless, there were, of two

kinds. The one was called the 'Bye,' or the 'Treason of the Priests,' or the 'Surprise,' in which two Roman Catholic Priests had joined with Brooke, brother to Lord Cobham, Lord Grey of Wilton, a Puritan, and others, in a plot to surprise the person of the King, and form a government of their own. The other was called, the 'Spanish, or Lord Cobham's Treason,' or 'the Main,' in which that nobleman had negotiated for a sum of money with Count Aremberg,—the representative of the Archduke Albert, (who then presided over the Netherlands,) and also of the King of Spain;—one purpose of the negotiation being to place the Lady Arabella Stuart upon the throne of England¹. With the first of these conspiracies, it was never pretended that RALEGH was in any way connected. Yet Hume, with that inaccuracy of statement which so often mars the matchless graces of his style, speaks of the two

¹ She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, uncle of James I., and great grandson to Henry VII. She had been imprisoned by Elizabeth, for venturing to entertain proposals of marriage from the son of the Earl of Northumberland; and her subsequent marriage in 1609, with William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford, led to a compulsory flight and separation from her husband, and a second imprisonment in the Tower, in which she died deranged, in 1615.

plots as one ; and expresses his astonishment that RALEGH, who was 'suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received the appellation of *free-thinkers*,' should have 'united with men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination'.² How far RALEGH deserved the description, which Hume here gives with respect to his so-called free-thinking opinions, will appear hereafter. But it is notorious, that he never joined, or was accused of joining, for any purpose, with all the men who are justly represented as being of such 'discordant principles.' The fact is, his intimacy with Lord Cobham, who was privy to both these plots, was the chief circumstance which excited suspicions against him, and proved his ruin. Hume would fain make it appear that there was some reason for believing that RALEGH might have entered into the treasonable negotiations ascribed to him. And, in the same degree that Hume could have succeeded in establishing the grounds of this belief, so would he have attained the great object for which this part of his history was written, and have vindicated the acts of

² Hume, v. 517.

the first of the Stuart Kings of England, in a point which needed vindication the most. But it is remarkable,—and for this reason I beg to call your attention particularly to the fact,—that Hume is compelled to acknowledge the treasonable character of RALEGH's transactions with Cobham and Aremberg to have been only a subject of conjecture, in support of which no evidence whatsoever existed. He thus relates it :

‘Such conjecture we are now enabled to form ; but it must be confessed, that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this transaction, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation. He was accused by Cobham alone, in a sudden fit of passion, upon hearing, that RALEIGH, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by which Cobham's guilt might be known and ascertained. This accusation Cobham afterwards retracted ; and, soon after, retracted his retraction. Yet, upon the written evidence of this single witness, a man of no honour nor understanding, and so contradictory in his testimony ; not confronted with RALEIGH ; not supported by any concurring circumstance ; was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury³.’

If these are the declarations of Hume, and if the consciousness of their truth constrains him to give the appellation of ‘great’ to the man who was the victim of such iniquitous

³ Hume, v. 518, 519.

persecution, we can well understand the powerful claims which RALEGH has herein upon our sympathy. He knew the injustice that was in store for him; and the apprehension of its magnitude was such as to banish from his mind, at one moment, the most sacred obligations of duty, and to lead him even to inflict upon his body a wound which might have destroyed life. We can neither deny, nor palliate, this sin. We acknowledge it with shame and sorrow; and will only observe, that, whatsoever may have been the motive impelling him to this act, it was, confessedly, not the consciousness of guilt with respect to the charges brought against him⁴.

We have not now time to set before you full particulars of this mock trial of RALEGH⁵. But the most superficial glance at its contents, which you may find given at length, not merely in the Collection of State Trials, but in a book easily obtained,—one of the Volumes of The Library of Entertaining Knowledge,—will be amply sufficient to show

⁴ Edinburgh Review, ut sup. 50. Tytler's Life, &c. 438.

⁵ It was held in November 1603, at Winchester, in consequence of the plague which had been raging in London.

the cruelty and unfairness, with which it was conducted. Indeed, the conduct of Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated English jurist, who, as Attorney-General, then conducted the prosecution, is justly described by Hume as casting 'reflection, not only on his own memory, but even on the manners of the age.' It seems hardly credible that such conduct should ever have been exhibited in a Court of Justice.

'I will come close to you,' says the Attorney-General. 'I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar.'

Sir W. R. Your words cannot condemn me; my innocency is my defence. I pray you go to your proofs. Prove against me any one thing of the many that you have broken, and I will confess all the indictment, and that I am the most horrible traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand torments.

Attorney-General. Nay, I will prove all; thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart.'

Again, speaking of some part of Cobham's plan, the Attorney-General asks,

'Came this contrivance, think you, out of Cobham's quiver? No, but out of RALEGH's devilish and Machiavelian policy. You shall hear that it was after Cobham had had intelligence with this viper in the Tower, that he devised this false artifice. But Sir

Thomas Fane would be no party in such a business, and sent the letter to the Council.

Sir W. R. What is that to me? I do not hear yet that you have spoken one word against me; here is no treason of mine done; if my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?

Attorney-General. All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I *thou* thee⁶, thou traitor. I will prove thee the rankest traitor in all England.

Sir W. R. No, no, Mr. Attorney, I am no traitor. Whether I live or die, I shall stand as true a subject as any the King hath; you may call me traitor at your pleasure; yet it becomes not a man of quality and virtue to do so; but I take comfort in it, it is all that you can do, for I do not yet hear that you charge me with any treason.'

Again, when the business seemed to be at an end, RALEGH said,

'Mr. Attorney, have you done?

Attorney-General. Yes, if you have no more to say.

Sir W. R. If you have done, then I have somewhat more to say.

⁶ Mr. Tytler states, p. 265, that this remarkable answer of Coke passed into a proverb, and furnished Shakspeare with one of his amusing satirical touches in his character of Sir Toby Belch, who, when he incites Sir Andrew Ague-cheek to send a challenge to the Count's serving man, is made to say, 'If thou *thou'st* him some thrice, it shall not be amiss.' If Mr. Malone's supposition, that the Twelfth Night did not appear until 1607, had been correct, the criticism might have been just. But, unfortunately, Mr. Collier and others have proved that the play was written in 1601-2, nearly two years before RALEGH's Trial.

Attorney-General. Nay, I will have the last word for the King.

Sir W. R. Nay, I will have the last word for my life.

Attorney-General. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came to the bar.

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr. Attorney, give him leave to speak.

Attorney-General. I am the King's sworn servant, and must speak; I may not be patiently heard, you discourage the King's Counsel, and encourage traitors.

Here Mr. Attorney sat down in a chafe, and would speak no more, until the Commissioner urged and intreated him. After much ado, he went on, and made a long repetition of all the evidence, for the direction of the jury; and at the repeating of some things, SIR WALTER interrupted him, and said he did him wrong.

Attorney-General. Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived.

Sir W. R. You speak indiscreetly, uncivilly, and barbarously.

Attorney-General. Thou art an odious fellow; thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride.

Sir W. R. It will go near to prove a measuring cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney-General. Well, I will now lay you open for the greatest traitor that ever was.'

For the particulars of RALEGH's defence, I must refer you to the published account. I will only add here the few words he spoke, when the verdict of Guilty had been pro-

nounced, and he was asked, why judgment should not be given against him.

‘I can say nothing,’ he replied, ‘in stay of judgment; for I know well, the jury having found me guilty, the law must now pronounce sentence against me. But I desire my Lords to favour me so far as to repeat to the King my protestation against these three accusations of the Lord Cobham; I never was privy to his practices with Spain, nor to the ‘surprising’ treason, nor to the conferences with Count AreMBERG. True it is that I was offered that sum of £1500 a year for intelligence, but embraced it not; my only fault was that I disclosed it not. If the King’s mercy be greater than my offence, I shall take it thankfully; if otherwise, I must be contented; and if I die, I recommend my poor wife and child of tender years to his Majesty’s compassion; but if, of the King’s grace, I may live, I shall serve and pray for him during my life.’

The terms in which Lord Chief Justice Popham passed the awful sentence of death upon RALEGH were in perfect consistency with the rest of this nefarious trial. The character of judge was lost in that of the insolent and heartless censor. RALEGH uttered no complaint; but simply entreated the Commissioner to communicate to the King his protestations against the charges alleged by Cobham, and to pray the King in his behalf, ‘that, in regard of the places of honour which he had heretofore held, the

rigour of his sentence might be qualified, and his death be honourable, and not ignominious.'

There are two points, arising out of the consideration of this trial, which I wish to present to your notice; the one, affecting RALEGH; the other, ourselves.

With respect to RALEGH, the gross injustice of the trial, and the admirable patience, and courage, and skill with which he defended himself, turned in his favour the whole tide of the nation's feeling, which had lately set in so strong against him.

'Of two persons,' it is said, 'who brought the news to the King, one affirmed that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would in those to come; the other, that whereas when he saw him first, he would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to save his life.' 'In half a day,' says another observer, 'the mind of all the company was changed from the extremest hate to the greatest pity.'

It is thus that the counsels and passions of the wicked are made, by the over-ruling Providence of God, to defeat their own purposes.

The other point, I have said, has reference to ourselves; and it is this: the grateful

⁷ Edinburgh Review, ut sup. p. 56.

conviction which should possess our own minds, and the minds of all Englishmen in the present day, in knowing that we are protected against the possibility of the recurrence of scenes such as those which the history of RALEGH has revealed. Let me ask you to consider this important fact, in the words of one far more competent than I am to speak of its reality and blessing. 'The advantage'—says Mr. Jardine, the learned Editor of the Collection of Criminal Trials to which I just referred,—

'The advantage which the liberty of the subject has gained in modern times cannot, perhaps, be better illustrated, than by contrasting the situation of two individuals charged with the crime of treason, at the two extremes of a period of two hundred years. In the boasted age of Elizabeth, the practice was to arrest the suspected person, and to keep him in strict imprisonment till it suited the purposes of the Crown to try him. During this interval (which was quite without limit in practice, however illegal, there being instances of imprisonment for many years without trial) the prisoner was left to ruminate upon his misfortune in solitude, no friend or adviser being admitted to him; his gaoler, perhaps, or some expert underling of state, was occasionally introduced to examine him,—to extort confessions from him; or, failing in this object, to do what Tacitus describes as the height of imperial tyranny at Rome, *suspiria subscribere*,—to write down and register the sighs and groans of the captive, for the purpose of making them the subject of

criminal charges⁸. Coming to his trial with his powers both of body and mind wasted by confinement, he was literally brought out to "fight without a weapon." He heard the charge against him for the first time, when the indictment was read upon his arraignment; he was left to puzzle out his way to the meaning of the charge, involved, as it was, in technical jargon, and was compelled to plead instantly to it. If he denied it, evidence was produced against him, consisting of written, or even verbal accounts of the examinations of persons, not brought into court, not cross-examined by him, nor confronted with him in any way; sometimes convicted traitors waiting for execution; sometimes men charged with the same offence which was imputed to him, and hoping for, and even promised pardon for themselves, if they succeeded in fixing guilt upon him. He was not allowed to call witnesses to prove his innocence of the charge, or to impeach the testimony of the witnesses for the Crown; counsel were not to assist him in making his defence, and, during the whole proceeding, the judges and King's counsel were accustomed to display their ingenuity by perplexing the prisoner with questions, and endeavouring to extract his condemnation from his own mouth. If the jury found him guilty, his life and property were in the King's hands; and the old observation which has been applied to princes may with equal justice be applied to persons convicted of

⁸ One of the most flagrant instances of this mode of procuring evidence occurred in the case of RALEGH's second trial; in which Sir Thomas Wilson was shut up in the Tower with the prisoner for upwards of a month, for the express purpose of drawing, from his own conversation, materials for a criminal accusation.

state offences in ancient times, namely, that "the interval between their prisons and their graves was usually but a short one;" if, on the other hand, he was acquitted, the jury were reprimanded, or even punished, and the prisoner was sent back to confinement till the materials for a new charge were compounded, or till it pleased the caprice of government to discharge him. Such was the law and practice in the time of Queen Elizabeth; let us now look at the law and practice in the time of George III.

'In modern times, a person imprisoned on a charge of treason is entitled immediately to a copy of the warrant of commitment, which the gaoler is bound to deliver to him under a very heavy penalty; friends and advisers are admitted to consult with him at all reasonable times; if upon the warrant of his commitment or otherwise he has reason to believe, or is advised that his imprisonment is illegal, or that he is entitled to bail, he may demand to be brought personally before some court of superior jurisdiction; and after being heard publicly and openly he will be either bailed, remanded, or discharged; he must be brought to trial within a reasonable time; and if not indicted in the course of the next term or sessions after his commitment, he is entitled to be bailed; and if not indicted and tried at the second term or sessions, he may be discharged. There must be an interval of fifteen days between his arraignment and trial. A copy of the indictment, together with a list of the witnesses to appear against him, and also of the jury by whom he is to be tried, with a full description of each person, in order that he may know how to direct his challenges, must be delivered to him ten days at least before his trial; counsel are assigned to him by the court upon his own nomination, who are

permitted to assist him in every part of the trial by examining witnesses and addressing the jury in his behalf; there must be two witnesses to support every article of the treason charged against him; all the evidence is given in open court, and the prisoner or his counsel are allowed to cross-examine the witnesses for the prosecution; no questions are asked of the prisoner during the whole of the proceeding as to the facts of the case; he may call as many witnesses as he pleases, who are examined upon oath, and he has the same means of compelling their attendance as the Crown; on a verdict of acquittal, he is instantly discharged, and the jury are never questioned for their conduct*.

Such is a lucid statement of the provisions of which the object is to secure to every Englishman a fair trial, let his accusation be what it may. And your observation of events which have taken place in your own day and within your own knowledge, will doubtless supply you with abundant testimony to prove the full and efficient use of this security. Again, therefore, I say, let us thankfully acknowledge this fact. And, if the desire should ever arise in our minds, as it has arisen in the minds of others, to ask, "Why are the former days better than these?" let us confess, that, in the fact now presented to our view, there is at least one

* Jardine's Introduction to Criminal Trials, 8—10.

powerful reason why we should acknowledge the truth and wisdom of that sentence which declares, that we do "not enquire wisely concerning this¹."

We have seen that the sentence of death was passed on RALEGH. Let us now see what were the deep searchings of his heart, whilst he daily expected its execution. They are to be found in the following letter, written by him to his wife:

'You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words, in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess,—let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself.

'First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and cares taken for me; which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less. But pay it I never shall in this world. Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death, but by your travail seek to help your fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mournings cannot avail me,—I am but dust. Thirdly, You shall understand that my land was conveyed *bonâ*

¹ Eccles. vii. 10.

fide to my child. The writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelvemonths,—my honest cousin, Brett, can testify so much, and Dabberie, too, can remember somewhat therein; and I trust my blood will quench their malice that have thus cruelly murdered me, and that they will not seek to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee, I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial; and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that being thus surprised with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness, I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it: half my stuff and all my jewels,—but [except] some one for the boy. But God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that great God that ruleth all in all. But, if you can live free from want, care for no more,—the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on Him; and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God, while he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him, and then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him,—a husband and a father that cannot be taken from you. Baylly oweth me £210, and Adrian Gilbert £600. In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me. Besides, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts; and howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men.

‘When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections; for they last not but in honest and worthy

men, and no greater misery can befall you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage, for it will be best for you both in respect of the world and of God. As for you, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it; for know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who in his own respect despiseth death in all his mis-shapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much. God he knoweth how hardly I steal this time while others sleep; and it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more,—time and death call me away.

‘The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy; pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms! Written with the dying hand of sometime thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown.—Yours that was, but not now my own,

‘WALTER RALEGH ².’

² Tytler's *Life*, &c. 307, &c.

Mark well the sentiments of RALEGH depicted in this letter; and say whether they do not put to shame the accusations cast against him on the ground of infidelity. The Attorney-General and the Chief-Justice upbraided him with the guilt of this sin in open Court; and the language of the historian, after the interval of nearly a century and a half, would imply, that such charges were not without foundation. But here, in that solemn hour which was about to bring to him, as he thought, the stroke of death, and in terms which, he believed, would be read by no other eye than hers to whom they were addressed, RALEGH testifies his conviction of the truth, and majesty, and goodness of God, and entreats of Him forgiveness for his persecutors, protection for his widow and fatherless child, and mercy for himself.

The death, which he then looked for, was deferred. Yet, for thirteen long years, the Tower continued still to be his prison-house; and the cruel injustice of his enemies was gratified. But no imprisonment could chain the energies of his mind. And, the composition of that great work,—The History of the World, which attracted the admiration of the good and faithful in his day, and,

surviving the detractions of false criticism, retains their suffrages in our own,—has stamped immortality upon the hours of RALEGH's solitude. Hear the terms in which one of his most celebrated contemporaries, Bishop Hall, speaks of this work and of the circumstances in which it was composed. The passage occurs in one of the Bishop's excellent Practical Works, entitled 'The Balm of Gilead,' and in that section of it which is headed 'Comforts against Imprisonment.' It is to this effect :

' How memorable an instance hath our age yielded us, of an eminent person, to whose encagement we are beholden, besides many philosophical experiments, for that noble History of the World, which is now in our hands! The Court had his youthful and freer times; the Tower, his later age: the Tower reformed the Court in him; and produced those worthy monuments of art and industry, which we should in vain have expected from his freedom and jollity. It is observed, that shining wood, when it is kept within doors, loseth its light. It is otherwise with this and many other active wits, which had never shone so much, if not for their closeness³.'

The philosophical experiments alluded to in this passage were chiefly those relating to

³ Bishop Hall's Works, vii. 171.

chemistry; and these, and other researches in the kindred sciences of mathematics and astronomy, he prosecuted not only with unwearied diligence on his own part,—for it is said of him that he could ‘toil terribly,’—but with the assistance also of his old preceptor Hariot, and other learned men, who constantly visited him, and also one of his fellow-prisoners, Henry, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, in the Tower⁴. Poetry, moreover, was cultivated by him now, as it had been when he was the companion of Spenser in Ireland; and the composition of the following beautiful hymn is generally ascribed to the period of which I am speaking.

‘Rise, O my soul, with thy desires to Heaven,
 And with divinest contemplation use
 Thy time where time’s eternity is given,
 And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuse;

⁴ This nobleman, it is well known, had been imprisoned in consequence of his supposed participation in the Gunpowder Plot. And Hariot, Warner, and Hughes, whose names then stood high in the scientific world, and to whom he was a generous patron, were called the Earl’s three Magi. From the intimacy of Hariot with this nobleman, his papers were transferred to Petworth, then in the possession of the Percy family. The late Professor Rigaud, of Oxford, was permitted by the late Earl of Egremont to examine them; and published, in his Appendix to Bradley’s Works (Oxford, 1832), the valuable observations upon Halley’s comet which Hariot had drawn up in 1607.

But down in darkness let them lie.
So live thy better, let the worse thoughts die !

‘ And thou, my soul, inspir’d with holy flame,
View and review with most regardful eye
That holy cross, whence thy salvation came,
On which thy Saviour and thy sin did die !
For in that sacred object is much pleasure,
And in that Saviour is my life, my treasure.

‘ To Thee, O Jesu ! I direct my eye,
To Thee my hands, to Thee my humble knees ;
To Thee my heart shall offer sacrifice,
To Thee my thoughts, Who my thoughts only sees :
To Thee myself, myself and all I give ;
To Thee I die, to Thee I only live ⁵.’

Is it possible that any one, to whom could justly apply the fearful charges before adverted to, should ever have given utterance to the deep searchings of his heart in language such as this ?

A similar confirmation of the depth and earnestness of RALEGH’s religious faith, is supplied in various passages of his *History of the World*. Among these especially may be noted the emphatic manner in which he acknowledges the wisdom and truth of God’s over-ruling Providence, as illustrated in His government of nations. Thus, speaking, in

⁵ RALEGH’s Works, viii. 707.

his Preface, of the benefits to be obtained from History, he draws the following contrast between those which are ordinarily acknowledged, and that which he would ascribe to it.

‘ True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured, in this one it triumpheth over all human knowledge, that it hath given us life in our understanding, since the world itself had life and beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triumphed over time, which, besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind, that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great world, *magni Dei sapiens opus*, “the wise work,” saith Hermes, “of a great God” as it was then, when but new to itself. By it, I say, it is, that we live in the very time when it was created; we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again repeopled; how kings and kingdoms have flourished and fallen; and for what virtue and piety God made prosperous, and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto history, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men’s fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings.

‘ But it is neither of examples, the most lively instructions, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror

of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified minds, as to make us remember, that the infinite eye and wisdom of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make us remember that the justice of God doth require none other accuser than our own consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality which (to pacify the opinions of men) we put on, can in any or the least kind cover from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen wisdom confess no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides;) having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well⁶.

‘What, again, can be more just or beautiful than the following description which he gives, in the beginning of his work, of the manner in which ‘the invisible God is seen in His creatures?’

‘God, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a power uneffable, and virtue infinite; a light by abundant clarity invisible; an understanding which itself can only comprehend; an essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was and is pleased to make himself known by the work of the world: in the wonderful magnitude whereof, (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth,) we behold the image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withal, that one, and yet universal nature which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaven we

⁶ Preface to RALEGH's *History of the World*. Works, ii. pp. v, vi.

perceive a shadow of his divine countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness; and lastly in creating and making existent the world universal, by the absolute art of his own word, his power and almightiness; which power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness, being all but attributes of one simple essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of celestial and terrestrial bodies: terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which, in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixed, nor confounded. By these potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent Cause, and by these motions, their almighty Mover.

‘In these more than wonderful works, God, saith Hugo, speaketh unto man: and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that live witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls.— But by his own word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose hieroglyphical characters are the unnumbered stars, the sun, and moon written on these large volumes of the firmament; written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore, said that learned Cusanus, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*; “The world universal is nothing else but God expressed.” And “the invisible things of God,” saith St. Paul, “are seen by his creation of the world, being considered in his creatures.” Of all which there was no other cause

preceding than his own will, no other matter than his own power, no other workman than his own word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged will moved, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his almighty power perfected and made visible⁷.

To give you, within the limits of time now prescribed to me, any adequate description of a work which traces the progress of events from the Creation, through the Assyrian, Persian, and Grecian empires, and that of the Roman, as far as the end of the second Macedonian War, is obviously impracticable. The contents of this vast body of history,—whether you examine them in the ponderous folio of the earlier editions, or in the closely printed pages of the five octavo volumes lately published by the University of Oxford,—are such as to defy abridgment. I must refer you therefore to the work itself, if you would wish to judge truly of its real merits. And, if the sample which I have already given of the manner in which RALEGH begins his History, should lead you to believe that time bestowed upon its perusal will be well

⁷ RALEGH's History of the World. Works, ii. 1—3.

employed, this belief, I think you will say, is strengthened when you hear the passages with which the work closes.

The first is that, in which he describes the future downfall of the Roman empire :

‘ By this which we have already set down is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world, whereof the founders and erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world : but after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had ; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another, her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down *.’

The next passage is that which relates to Turkey, afterwards the most powerful dominion in the East of Europe, and to Spain the most powerful in the West :

‘ The one (he says) seeking to root out the Christian religion altogether; the other, the truth and profession

* Hallam has called the attention of the reader of his ‘ Introduction to the Literature of Europe,’ to the remarkable fact, that Warburton, having altered some of the expressions, introduced the above passage into the Preface to his ‘ Julian,’ without any acknowledgment; and that Dr. Parr, learned as he was, ‘ extolled it as Warburton’s, not knowing, what he afterwards discovered, the original source.’ iv. 658, *note*.

thereof; the one to join all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spain.

‘For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said, that the kings and princes of the world have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends, of those great ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsel of Death upon his approach. It is he that puts into men all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word, which God, with all the words of his law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred. “I have considered,” saith Solomon, “all the works that are under the sun, and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit;” but who believes it, till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opened the conscience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoin his son Philip to restore Navarre; and king Francis the First of France to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant, makes them cry, complain, and repent, yea even to hate their forepast happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein

their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it.

‘O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with those two narrow words, *Hic jacet*’.

We cannot leave this brief notice of the work before us without observing that attempts have been made to deprive RALEGH of the credit of having written it. Algernon Sydney, in a former day, and D’Israeli in the present¹, have both tried to rob him of the honour that is his due, by suggesting that the principal part of his History of the World was supplied by those learned friends who used to visit him in his imprisonment. I am sorry to add that Lingard also and Southey have been so far led away by their admiration of D’Israeli’s varied and extensive literary knowledge, as to adopt, without proper examination, his conclusions². But

² RALEGH’s History of the World. Works, vi. 898—901.

¹ Sydney on Government, p. 398. D’Israeli’s Curiosities of Literature, on ‘Literary Unions,’ p. 421. ed. 1838.

² Lingard’s History of England, ix. 255, 256. Southey’s Lives of the Admirals, fourth volume.

that examination has been made by others; and the result, I thankfully acknowledge, has been to establish, in the fullest sense, the right of RALEGH to be regarded as the author of this great work ³.

The first part was published in 1614; and, both at the end of the Preface and of the History itself, affecting allusion is made to Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I., by whose encouragement RALEGH had undertaken the work, and whose early death, a short time before, had filled his heart with a sorrow that was shared by the whole nation. That excellent Prince had long cherished the warmest affection for RALEGH, and had scrupled not to say that 'no king, but his father, would keep such a bird in a cage.' The loss of his support was a bitter aggravation of RALEGH's sufferings, who now strove the more anxiously to be released from his captivity, and realize those projects of a plantation in Guiana, which, amid all the long years of captivity, had never been obliterated from his mind. His enemy Cecil was no longer

³ Tytler's Life of RALEGH, p. 457, &c.; Edinburgh Review, ut sup. pp. 69, 70. The latter speaks, in terms of more than ordinary praise, of a triumphant refutation of D'Israeli's observations by Mr. Bolton Corney.

⁴ Osborne's Memoirs of James I., p. 154.

alive to thwart or to betray him; the sympathies of his countrymen were strongly enlisted on his behalf; and the King was willing enough that a rich territory should be added to his dominions. But it is doubtful whether all these influences would have availed RALEGH any thing, had he not bribed the two uncles of Buckingham, the new favourite of the King, by a gift of fifteen hundred pounds, to intercede for his liberation⁵. Their intercession was successful; and, in March, 1617, he embarked once more, in command of a fleet consisting of fourteen sail, for the country respecting which such wondrous expectations had been raised⁶. The

⁵ Hume, it should be observed, says nothing of this bribe, which RALEGH was compelled to give to obtain his freedom. But the fact is not to be doubted. And I have adverted to it here as a confirmation of the remark which I have already made upon a similar transaction, in the reign of Elizabeth. See p. 317, *ante*.

⁶ Mr. Tytler has quoted, p. 361, from the Appendix to Cayley's Life of RALEGH, an extract from his general orders for the conduct of the expedition, which deserves especial notice: 'Because no enterprise or action can prosper (be it sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and Strength of hosts and armies, you shall not fail to cause divine service to be read in your ship morning and evening; or, at least, if there be interruption by foul weather, once in the day, praising God every night, with singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch: Secondly, you shall take especial

commission which he received of Admiral of the fleet, and by virtue of which he was entrusted with authority to execute martial law, has been thought by some to have carried with it an acquittal of all the charges that had been preferred against him. But the sentence of the law still hung over him, and, as the event proved, had lost none of its avenging power.

After encountering many delays, and losses by a grievous sickness, which carried off not less than forty-two men on board RALEGH's own ship, the expedition reached the shores of Guiana in November. RALEGH himself was so worn down by illness, as to be unable to accompany the exploring party, which it was necessary to send up the Orinoco ; and, having entrusted its command to Keymis, whom he had already employed, as his agent, to visit the country, remained, with the rest of the squadron, at Trinidad, to await the issue. Most afflicting was the intelligence which he was soon doomed to

care that God be not blasphemed in your ship, but that, after admonition given, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures ; by which course, if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal. For if it be threatened in the Scriptures that the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer, much less from the ship of the swearer.'

receive. After proceeding for a month up the river, his men had disembarked upon the right bank, on a spot which, it was believed, belonged to England, by virtue of the claim made to it by RALEGH many years before⁷, and within a few miles of which was supposed to be the mine which Keymis was instructed to examine. Near the same spot, the Spaniards had since built and garrisoned the town of St. Thomas. They forthwith attacked the English; having been prepared for their coming, by intelligence, conveyed to them from James I., through Gondomar, their ambassador at the English Court. A bloody fight ensued; in which, although the Spaniards were in the end defeated, and their town destroyed, yet great loss was sustained by the English, and Walter, the eldest son of RALEGH, was one of the slain⁸. Keymis still attempted to prosecute his journey to the mine, but a fresh attack of the Spaniards, and fresh losses, and the apprehension of further dangers, compelled him to retreat; and, with the remnant of his party,

⁷ Whether the English title were superior to that claimed by the Spaniard, is very doubtful; but Hume, vi. 32, distinctly admits that it was quite as good.

⁸ Another son, Carew, had been born to him whilst he was in the Tower.

he rejoined the Admiral, having failed miserably with respect to every object which he had hoped to accomplish. RALEGH felt deeply the reproach, of which, he knew well, the whole burden would fall ultimately upon himself; upbraided Keymis with having utterly ruined his credit with the King, and refused to admit the validity of any of those excuses which Keymis pleaded in his own behalf. Keymis could no longer bear the agony of his shame; and, having shut himself into his cabin, died by his own hand.

RALEGH, thus baffled at every point, was forced to abandon his dearly cherished enterprise. He first made for Newfoundland, for the purpose of clearing and revictualling his ships; and thence,—after having, with great difficulty, restrained the crews from breaking out into open mutiny*,—returned to Ply-

* One of the stratagems to which RALEGH was then forced to resort, to induce the mutineers to obey him, was that of holding out to them the hope of cutting off the Mexican fleet; and the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, p. 88, has forced this into an argument to prove that RALEGH fully intended to turn pirate. But a reference to the narrative of Mr. Tytler, p. 372, whom the Reviewer has erroneously accused of an oversight in this matter, will show that it was only intended as a device to restrain the crews from open mutiny. The other evidences which the Reviewer has brought forward to prove the same point, I take leave to say, are wholly insufficient. The expression of RALEGH,

mouth, in July, 1618. Having touched by the way on the coast of Ireland, he learnt that the story of his disasters had preceded him; and, that a royal proclamation had already been issued against him. He knew the evil construction which would be put upon his acts by Gondomar; the willingness with which such construction would be received by the King,—a willingness, now likely to be displayed all the more readily, by reason of the negotiations then in progress for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain;—the danger which hung over his head from his former sentence, never yet, in distinct terms, revoked; and the little power which he possessed of overcoming such formidable difficulties. If RALEGH had been the faithless man which some writers have described, he would, assuredly, have sought to escape the dangers which thus threatened him. Had he ever cherished, for instance, any traitorous designs with respect to France¹, there was nothing easier

in his letter to his wife, cannot fairly carry with it such an imputation. And, as for the letter of Captain Parker, it only shows that he was willing enough to turn buccaneer, but is no proof at all that he spoke the sentiments of his commander.

¹ The Edinburgh Reviewer, p. 82, distinctly charges RALEGH with having entertained a secret design of trans-

than to have found shelter in the nearest harbour of that country, and, under her flag, to have renewed the attempts in Guiana, which had hitherto been unsuccessful. Or, if with the spirit of a roving buccaneer, he had been anxious to enrich himself by plunder, he knew that he had, under his command, a fleet strong enough to sweep off the choicest treasures of the Spanish Main, and officers and men eager to fly upon the prey. Yet, instead of resorting to any such means, he surrendered himself at once into the hands of Sir Lewis Stukely, Vice-admiral of Devon, who had received authority to arrest him. By this act also, he released from their obligation the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel, who had bound themselves for his return to England. I know not what stronger evidence can be required to prove the con-

ferring to the King of France the benefits of his Guianian scheme; and founds the charge upon certain dispatches of Desmarests, the French ambassador. But we know not whether Desmarests may not have made exaggerations and false representations, for the purpose of making his influence with RALEGH and other Englishmen appear to his master greater than it really was. That RALEGH may have incautiously complained to the French ambassador of his hard usage, is very probable; but it is not to be believed that he meditated any deliberate treachery towards his country, unless it be borne out by stronger evidence than any which has yet been adduced.

sciousness which RALEGH felt in his own integrity. Deceived he may have been, and was, by others; but it remains yet to be proved that he was, what his accusers charged him with being, the wilful deceiver of his King and country.

It is true, that he attempted afterwards to escape to France, although he did not put his first design into actual execution. It is true also, that, as the conviction came to be more closely forced upon his mind, that his approaching trial would be a mockery of justice, he tried to evade or defer it by feigning sickness through a series of skilful frauds, which his knowledge of chemistry enabled him to carry on without immediate detection. It is further true, that, upon reaching London, he made other plans to escape; and that the base men who were about him encouraged him in them, only that they might entrap him more completely in the end. But these, I believe, are not to be regarded as proving any thing else than the power with which the love of life triumphed, for the moment, in the mind of RALEGH, over every other feeling. A speedy and ignominious death, he knew, awaited him, should he be once held in bondage by his enemies. Yet, if life could be prolonged,

and the opportunity of vindicating his fame granted him again, the vindication, he felt assured, would be made good. This, and not the consciousness of guilt, was, I believe, the motive which prompted him to have recourse to those artifices which his enemies have recounted with such triumph. And, if the recital of them be calculated, as I admit it is, to pain and humble us, let me ask you at least to remember the terrible nature of the trial which provoked them.

And now, behold, the gates of the Tower opened once more to receive its prisoner. The old and bitter antagonist of RALEGH, Sir Edward Coke, appears, with other Commissioners, seeking to extract from him, by their questions, such information as may lead him to convict himself². But the attempt

² Hume states, in the elaborate note which he has drawn up in defence of the conduct of James I. towards RALEGH, that 'some of the facts which seem to condemn RALEGH, are extracted from the examinations before' these Commissioners, and which are related in a document 'of undoubted credit, subscribed by six (Privy Counsellors.' vi. 35. But, in answer to this it should be observed, in the words of a learned Reviewer of some of the State Trials, that the document 'preserved in the Harleian Miscellany, iii. n. 2, will be found, on inspection, not to bear any signature at all. It was, in truth, nothing but an argument, artfully and well written, in vindication of the conduct of the King, and published by authority, for

is vain. Next, Sir Thomas Wilson, then Keeper of the State Papers, is employed to act the spy over him, and, by engaging him in apparently friendly converse, to draw him into admissions which might lead, in some way or other, to inculcate himself. This method likewise fails. But RALEGH must not thus escape. The Spanish Government insists that 'exemplary and immediate chastisement' shall be inflicted upon him for 'his notorious and public offence.' The King of England complies. But, upon what ground shall the sentence of death against RALEGH be made to stand? Every effort to establish his guilt, with reference to recent acts, has proved abortive. And how are the King and his counsellors to proceed? Even by arguing, that, as it would not be lawful that one 'under an unpardoned sentence for treason,' and therefore 'civilly dead,' should be 'triable for any new offence,' so they must fall back upon the former sentence, already 'sixteen years old,—a sentence, iniquitous from the first, and followed by the protracted punish-

the purpose of justifying the execution of RALEGH, who was viewed by the nation as a peace-offering to the Court of Spain. But not one of the members of the Privy Council signed it; nor does the declaration itself profess to have their assent or sanction.' *Phillipps's State Trials*, i. 83.

ment of thirteen years' imprisonment'. By virtue of such a sentence shall RALEGH die! Well and truly has it been said, that 'the justice of England has never been so degraded and injured as by' this act'. And, observe, this degradation and injury were not the results of corruption and base subserviency on the part of those who administered the law. They were made justifiable under the strict letter of the law itself³. The burden, therefore, of guilt rests upon those, who, sheltering themselves under this technical plea, surrendered RALEGH as a victim to the hatred and jealousy of a foreign Court⁴.

The question, indeed, was asked of RALEGH, whether he had any thing to say why execution should not be awarded against him. But, under the circumstances in which he was then placed, this was only an insult, springing

³ Edinburgh Review, ut sup. 95.

⁴ The words of Mr. Justice Gawdy respecting the trial of RALEGH, quoted from Rushworth's Collection by Mr. Jardine, ut sup. 520.

⁵ Ib. 518.

⁶ Mr. Jardine has remarked with great truth, p. 520, that 'RALEGH's original offence was so utterly lost sight of, that though he was in 1603 indicted, tried, and sentenced to death for a conspiracy with Spain against the King of England, the execution of the sentence was granted in 1618, at the suggestion of that very power with whom the record charged him to have conspired.'

out of the forms of criminal procedure, which made yet more grievous the iniquity of his sentence. He did, indeed, urge such pleas as he could⁷; but it was only to hear immediately afterwards the words issuing from the judgment-seat, 'Execution is granted.' Once more, however, before he leaves the Court, he speaks, and to this effect :

' My Lord, I most humbly beseech your Lordships that you will grant me some time before my execution, that I may settle my affairs and my mind more than they yet are; for I have much to do for my reputation and my conscience. And I would beseech the favour of pen, ink, and paper, to express something thereby, and to discharge myself of some trusts of worldly nature, that were put upon me. And I beseech you to think, that I crave not this to gain one minute of life; for now being old, sickly, disgraced, and certain to go to death, life is wearisome unto me. And, lastly, I do beseech your Lordships, that when I come to die, I may have leave to speak freely at my farewell; for I desire to satisfy the world that I was ever loyal to the King, and a true lover of this Commonwealth. And this I will seal with my blood, and justify where I shall not fear the face of any King on earth. My Lords, I beseech you all to pray for me⁸.'

How touching is the appeal here made !

⁷ Not only at his trial, but in his written 'Apology for his Voyage to Guiana.' This is now published in the last volume of his works, with his many valuable treatises upon political and other subjects.

⁸ Ib. 501.

How just and reasonable the request which it urged ! Nevertheless, it is rejected The warrant for the execution of RALEGH is signed that same day. And, on the very next morning, he is led out to the scaffold to die.

I dare not dwell upon the particulars of that scene. They have been recorded by many eye-witnesses, with a minuteness which stamps upon them the full impress of truth ; and, to those records,—accessible to all in the volumes which I have so frequently cited,—I must refer you. His parting interview with his wife in prison at midnight ; the notes which he wrote down for his guidance and comfort, after she had left him ; his conversation with the clergyman, from whose hands he received, in the early morning, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; the words he spoke to persons in the crowd, as he passed to the place of execution ; the address which, after having mounted the scaffold, he delivered to those who were gathered around it ; the struggles which he made, all this while, against the onset of bodily sickness ; the tenderness with which he embraced his friends who were near him ; the fervour, yet calmness, of his last prayer, and last confession ; his remarks to the sheriffs, and to the executioner, as he handled the axe,

and put away the bandage from his eyes ; and, last of all, the unshrinking steadiness with which he kneeled down, and laid his head upon the block, and received the stroke of death ;—these are the words and acts of RALEGH, in his closing hours, the history of which I have not now the time to repeat, and will not venture to abridge. They filled with pity and admiration the hearts of those who heard and saw them in that day ; they cannot fail to excite the same feelings in all who bring them to remembrance in our own. Upon us, who have been reviewing the history of the great man by whom they were said and done, I trust they will impress the yet further conviction, that his real greatness was displayed, not amid the dazzling glories of the court or camp, but, where all may find and be partakers of it, in the chastening hour of tribulation, and in communion with that God, Who, he confessed, hath, ‘by His unchanged will moved, by His high wisdom disposed, and by His Almighty power perfected and made visible’ the objects of His creation.

ADDRESS V.

ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES.

THE subject now proposed to our consideration, presents so large an extent of outline, and embraces so great a variety of details, that it precludes me from offering any prefatory observations of a general nature. It may serve, however, to clear the way which I shall have to traverse, if I state, at the outset, that there are several matters connected with it, upon which it is not my intention now to dwell. The many and conflicting theories, for instance, propounded by political economists with regard to Colonization generally, and the establishment and support of the British Colonies in particular; the remedies which men have proposed, and are still proposing, to correct what they believe to be the evils of our Colonial Government; and the questions which have

lately agitated the public mind as to the justice of retaining, or of abolishing, protective duties on articles of Colonial production; these, and other like subjects, of which it is hardly possible to overrate the importance, and upon which it is most desirable that all persons, who have the opportunity of informing themselves aright, should seek to do so without partiality and without prejudice; it is, nevertheless, no part of my design to examine minutely upon the present occasion. I must, necessarily, indeed, advert to some of them, as I pass along; but it would lead me too far away from the object I have in view, were I to do more than bestow upon them a very cursory notice.

The first, but not the only, object which I have in view at present is, as a member of the Sussex Branch of the Society for Promoting Colonization, to assist the Parent Society in making known its objects, and in forwarding its course of operations.

That Society has been organised for the purpose of assisting emigration to the British Colonies, not with any view to its own pecuniary advantage, but seeking, by a combined effort, to promote an object of great national importance. The means by which it seeks to effect that object is, by collecting and

giving, at the central office in London, information to all persons who may be desirous to obtain it on the subject of emigration, and especially to lighten the burden of the expense to those of our fellow-countrymen whose labour is their only capital. It is the business of the Branch Societies, which may be formed throughout the kingdom, to co-operate in this work ; to be ready at their Committee Rooms to give to all applicants the best information that can be obtained respecting our Colonies ; to advise with them as to the measures needful to be taken before their departure ; and to aid them in providing the necessary outfit, and reaching their place of embarkation. It is intended also that Corresponding Societies be formed in the Colonies, whose office will be to enquire into the nature of the labour most in demand, and to send home information respecting it ; to receive the emigrants upon their arrival ; to give them, especially the women and children, the aid which they require ; and to take charge of and remit home such money as they may wish to send. This is an outline of the duties, in promotion of which, I trust, many persons, both at home and abroad, will be found ready to assist. And, since it has been judged advisable by our

Committee to adopt at once one of the plans suggested by the Parent Society, as a medium for circulating information,—namely, the delivery of familiar lectures,—I have been willing to bear my part in the experiment, and to supply such general information on the subject as may enable you to profit by the practical details which others may have to lay before you.

But, whilst this is the immediate cause of my addressing you upon the present occasion, I do not wish you to receive my observations merely as those of the representative of a Society;—howsoever important may be the objects which it professes to attain, or howsoever legitimate and wise we may regard the means to be by which it professes to attain them. Experience has shown, that the operations of Societies are frequently encumbered and frustrated by influences which it is wholly beyond their power to prevent or remedy. And we should estimate very inadequately the real merits of the work in which a Society may be engaged, were we only to measure them by the success or failure of the instruments which it employs. With respect to the particular subject, indeed, now before us, the truth of this remark especially holds good. Whatsoever

may be the issue of the particular agencies which it is here proposed to establish in support of Colonization, the duties which we seek to perform, and the wants which we desire to relieve, remain the same. And they must receive the most careful attention of the people of this country, or her present exalted rank among the nations of the earth will be lost.

Let me ask you then briefly to consider, in the first place, what is meant by Emigration and Colonization, and what are the reasons which have induced men, in all ages, to resort to them ; secondly, to survey the wide field of the British Colonies, to see what they are, and where they are ; thirdly, to note the manner in which they came into our possession, and the ties which bind us to them ; and, lastly, to examine the aids and encouragements which they hold out to the honest, the intelligent, the industrious citizens of our own country.

By Emigration, then, we mean the simple act of moving from one place to another. By Colonization, we mean the settling and the planting of that new place of habitation to which the removal has been made. Thus, you will see that emigration necessarily precedes, but is not identical with, Coloni-

zation. The one is the first step ; the other the second. But we must not suppose that the first necessarily and always involves the second, or most fatal mistakes may follow. The emigrant may leave his native country, and seek another home in a new land. But, unless, in going thither, he seeks carefully the counsel and help which he requires, and strives to profit by it, he will not necessarily succeed in colonizing, that is, in settling, or planting, the new country. On the contrary, sad experience teaches us, that the emigrant in such a case has only shifted his sufferings from one place to another. He has not got rid of them. Nay, they come back upon him with aggravated force. Emigration, therefore, only can become a benefit, when it is followed by an equitable system of Colonization.

But the question is sometimes asked, 'Why emigrate? Why colonize at all? Why leave our native dwelling-place, and seek for other homes? Do not the instinctive yearnings of nature teach us to love the land of our birth above all others, to regard a separation from it an afflicting trial, and the neglect or injurious treatment of it a hateful sin?' Doubtless, this is true ; and we should be thankful to God, who makes the operation of such feelings a source of purest

too great for the confines of one region, were thus spread over others, which, by virtue of the principles just cited, they had both the desire and the power to "replenish" and to "subdue."

Now, what these sons of Terah and Haran then did, all nations of the earth have continued to do ever since. Thus, the first of historians, Thucydides, tells us, that the earliest ages of Greece were marked by the migration of tribes from province to province. The only exception, he says, was that of Athens; but he adds that, in course of time, she too was compelled to plant her colonies. The same barrenness of her soil, which had held out no temptation for pirates to land and plunder, made her unable to support, in addition to her own children, the refugees from richer provinces, who found shelter within her territory. And so Ionia was colonized by the superabundant population of Attica³. With the Ionic migration, must be reckoned also those of the Æolic and Doric; the former, conducted directly to the north of Ionia; the latter, directly to the south of the same territory. Drawn thus from different parts of Greece to the western frontier provinces of Asia Minor,

³ Thucyd. i. 3.

these colonies spread themselves at the same time among the different Isles of the *Ægean*. And, in all this, they were but the fore-runners of the Greeks of a later age, who colonized not only many adjacent provinces of the Grecian continent, but also the Isles now known by the name of the Ionian Isles, and parts of Sicily, Italy, and Gaul.

And Greece, be it observed, was not the only country which thus sent forth her colonies. Phœnicia, at a period even prior to that of her commercial greatness, had done the same. The father of History tells us, and Euripides repeats his testimony, that Cadmus, the supposed founder of *Bœotian Thebes*, and the introducer of the letters of the alphabet into Greece, came from that country⁴. The “merchants” of her chief

⁴ Herod. v. 58. Eur. Phœn. l. 638. It seems hardly necessary for me to remark, that I here follow the account ordinarily received, and adopted by Bishop Thirlwall in the third chapter of his valuable History of Greece. The readers of Mr. Grote's learned History upon the same subject, ii. 353, may remember that he disputes the alleged statement that the Ante-Hellenic Colonies came from Phœnicia and Egypt, and considers it neither verifiable nor probable. It would be, of course, needless to enter into the discussion of such a subject in this place; but, as Mr. Grote himself admits, that such colonization was ‘no wise impossible,’ and that ‘traces of Phœnician settle-

sea-port Tyre, we read in the prophet's language, were "princes," and her "traffickers were the honourable of the earth"⁵. Their fleets thus found a pathway to well nigh every country which bounded the Mediterranean Sea. The Phœnician emigrant gained a footing, not only upon the nearer shores of Cyprus, and Crete, and Greece, but upon those of Gaul, and Spain, and Libya. Carthage, again, outvying the power of her parent Tyre, planted, in turn, her colonies along the coast of Spain, in Sicily, the Balearic, and other Islands of the same sea. Rome likewise followed the same track. She sent out her soldiers and citizens to colonize every where her conquered provinces. The word 'colony' itself is a Roman word⁶. The Island which we inhabit was,

ments in some of the islands may doubtless be pointed out,' I must still be permitted to retain my belief that the received account is the true one.

⁵ Isa. xxiii. 8.

⁶ The Latin word for colony, *colonia*, signifies simply a plantation or cultivation of the land. The Greek word *ἀποικία*, signifies a separation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the house. Each word, as Adam Smith justly observes, (*Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. c. 7,) is a correct designation of the difference between Roman and Greek colonies; for the former remained always subject to the direct control of the mother city;

for more than four centuries, a Roman colony. At the expiration of them, Rome withdrew her legions from England, that they might uphold her tottering empire at home. That empire fell at last, as it deserved, having become corrupt to the very core. But, although the vices of the Roman undermined the structure once so glorious, remember, it was the hand of strangers that cast it down. The migratory hordes of Northern Europe poured, like a torrent, over the sunny plains of Italy; and the provinces of colonizing Rome became thus the colonies of the barbarians whom she despised. The time will not allow me,—and, indeed, it is not necessary,—to show how the other countries of Europe were then parcelled out among the destroyers of imperial Rome. Let us look only to what befell, then and afterwards, our own country. When Rome withdrew her soldiers and citizens from these shores, their places were occupied by other strangers who migrated thither. The Saxon, the Dane, the Norman, each in turn found here an attraction, and established here their settlements.

whereas the latter was regarded as an emancipated child, over which the parent state claimed not to exercise any direct authority, although the duties arising out of the original relationship were still recognized by both.

We are the descendants of those men. Our language, our laws, our customs, our names, are all witnesses of our mixed origin. We, too, the children of such ancestors, have been not less migratory than they were. Both within the shores of our sea-girt land, and beyond them, we have abundant evidence of this fact. Hear, for instance, the terms in which the chief of our internal emigrations has been described by the most recent, and already one of the most distinguished, of the historians of England. He has computed the amount of her population in the reign of James II., at somewhat more than five millions; that is,

‘on the very highest supposition, less than one-third of her present population, and less than three times the population which is now collected in her gigantic capital.’

He then describes the condition of that part of England in which the chief increase of population has since grown up, namely, the counties north of the Trent. And having proved, by a variety of evidence, that, down to the eighteenth century, that region was in a state of barbarism, he goes on to show how the discovery of extensive coal beds within it has changed its whole

character, and brought industry and all the arts of life in its train. They have been, he says,

‘a source of wealth far more precious than the gold mines of Peru. It was found that, in the neighbourhood of these beds, almost every manufacture might be most profitably carried on. *A constant stream of emigrants began to roll northward.* It appeared by the returns of 1841, that the ancient archiepiscopal province of York contained two-sevenths of the population of England. At the time of the revolution that province was believed to contain only one-seventh of the population. In Lancashire the number of inhabitants appears to have increased ninefold, while in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire, it was hardly doubled.’

Why this ninefold increase of the population in Lancashire? Simply, because the stream of emigration which began to roll northward on the first discovery of these coal beds has been rolling thither ever since. It is one of many proofs to show the uniform and constant operation of those laws of man’s being to which I have already called your attention, and which affect alike the destinies of individuals and of nations. If you wish for further evidence to the same effect, you may find it in the increase of this very town. Here is Brighton, containing a popu-

¹ Macaulay’s History of England, i. 284—286.

lation which, according to the last returns, forms a sixth-part of the whole county of Sussex. Although Brighton may be described as a triangle, the base of which is not three miles long, and the line from the centre of its base to the vertex barely a mile, yet it contains within these narrow limits this large proportion of the whole population of the county. The population of Sussex is 300,000; that of Brighton cannot have been less, during the last season, than between 56,000 and 60,000. You cannot account for this fact, by ascribing it to the increased numbers of those who have sprung up on the soil of Brighton. On the contrary, how few are there of those now residing upon this spot, how few of those to whom I now speak, who drew their first breath in Brighton! They have emigrated hither from divers quarters of the country. A portion of the stream which had been rolling northward, has, from causes the same in kind, howsoever they may differ in degree, been turned into a channel southward. Parties thinking to better themselves by following its direction, have left their native homes, and come hither; and, finding upon their arrival their wishes realized, they have proceeded to settle here, and made this town their colony.

Now, all these movements of the human race, to which I have been calling your attention, are in accordance, I repeat, with the first great laws of man's being. And our obedience to them is not more the work of intelligent reason than of animal instinct; an instinct, which leads the bees to swarm from their overloaded hives to others, and the birds of the air to fly from the cheerless winters of the north to warmer latitudes.

To trace the further operation of these laws, as exhibited in the efforts of our countrymen who have spread the name and the power of England to the furthest confines of the earth, is to enter upon the next part of the subject which has been proposed to your consideration; namely, to survey the wide field of the British Colonies, and to see what and where they are.

Some of our Colonies are like our own country, insular; others are established upon mighty continents. Some are only emporiums of commerce; others are spread over a wide and varied territory, where the labour of man finds an endless diversity of employment. Let me point them out to you upon the map. And, in so doing, let me present to your view not merely those which, in the strict sense of the term, we call Colonies,—

places, that is, principally or entirely owned by settlers from the mother country,—but also all the foreign possessions and dependencies of the British Empire. The view of them, brief and cursory as it must be on the present occasion, will serve to show to you the commanding position which we occupy amid the nations of the world. Here, then, carrying your eye along the same parallel of latitude from England westward, observe the first land, which rises up in the Atlantic. It is the most ancient of all our possessions,—Newfoundland. Thence, passing in a south-west direction, mark Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas ;—all that vast portion, in fact, of the North American continent, which has, for a great part of its southern boundary, the American Lakes, and which stretches away westward as far as the Pacific Ocean. The whole of this territory, even to the frozen waters of the Polar Sea, belongs to England. It is not indeed, throughout, under the direct government of the British Crown ; for part of Labrador and the adjoining provinces as far as the Rocky Mountains on the west, are within the limits of jurisdiction assigned to the Hudson's Bay Company ; and so too,

is that Island, called Vancouver's Island, lying close upon the north-western shore, a little above the mouth of the Columbia River. The debates which have lately taken place in Parliament may remind some of you, perhaps, that this Island has lately been made over to the same Company, upon condition of their colonizing it within a certain period.

Now, turn your attention to another portion of the same quarter of the world. And, deferring for the present the notice of those relations which, in spite of all the painful struggles that have taken place, can never be altogether broken between the great Republic of the United States and this country from which she derives her origin, I will ask you to observe a cluster of Islands, so small as almost to elude attention, and yet occupying a very important rank amid our foreign possessions. I mean the Bermudas, which lie more than a thousand miles distant to the south of Newfoundland. Proceeding yet further to the south, your eye rests upon those numerous Islands which extend in a curve from Florida, the most southern territory of North America, to the mouth of the Orinoco in South America, and which are known to you by the name of

the West Indies. One of them, St. Domingo, as you are, probably, aware, although it formerly belonged to France, is now the independent Republic of Hayti. Some few of the smaller Islands are attached to the South American Republic of Columbia. Of the rest, some are under the dominion of France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands. But our own country has acquired, either by settlement or capitulation, by far the greater number of them; inso-much that, if you include in the number Honduras on the coast of Yucatan, and British Guiana, comprising the united districts of Demerara and Essequibo, and the district of Berbice, in South America, you may reckon up not less than seventeen different possessions of the British Empire in that one portion of the globe. Before we turn aside from this part of the map, let me point to you the small group of Islands, off the south-eastern coast of Patagonia. They likewise are a British possession, and called the Falkland Islands.

You may next extend your survey to the nearest continent in the opposite hemisphere, that of Africa. And there, upon its western shore, you will see settlements on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and

Fernando Po, dependent upon British rule. Thence, passing southward by the Islands of St. Helena and Ascension, which we also hold, you reach that most important settlement at its extremity, the Cape of Good Hope. Leaving it, and traversing the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar, you come to the Island which has been in our possession since the last war with France, and still retains the name of Mauritius, given to it in 1598, (in compliment to the then Prince of Orange,) by a Dutch Admiral who landed there. And, as you pursue your course northward, through the same Indian Ocean, you must not overlook that small group of Islands, which also owns our dominion, and which bears the name of the Seychelle Islands.

And now, leaving this hardly-discernible speck in the Indian Ocean, to follow a lower parallel of latitude eastward, you will see other British Colonies springing up, whose origin indeed is recent, but whose increase has been beyond all calculation rapid:—Australia, presenting an area as large as the continent of Europe, with its different subdivisions of New South Wales and its dependency of Norfolk Island on the east, Port Philip and South Australia on the south, Swan River on the west, and Port Essington

on its northern shores : next, Van Dieman's Land, or Tasmania, nearly equal in size to Ireland ; and, further on still, New Zealand, with its fair and beautiful Islands, and genial climate*. Thence, pursuing a track to the north-west, through Torres Straits, and among the Isles of the Indian Archipelago, you come to the new settlement of Labuan, off the coast of Borneo, whose history is so honourably associated with the name and services of our distinguished countryman, Sir James Brooke. And a thousand miles to the north of this, before you come to the Bocca Tigris, is situated our military possession of Hong Kong.

You now turn to the south-west, and, passing by our recent settlement of Singapore, come to our Indian Empire, which,—with the exception of Ceylon, lying to the south-east of Hindustan,—is governed, not immediately by the Crown, but by the East India Company. See the vast extent of this empire from Cape Comorin, at the south, to

* ~~While these sheets are passing through the press, I observe the appointment of Mr. Enderby to the Lieutenant-governorship of the Auckland Isles, which lie about 180 miles to the south-west of New Zealand : another nucleus round which the energies of British industry and enterprise may be gathered at no distant day.~~

the northern boundary of the Indus ; and embracing,—throughout the three great Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and other provinces of Hindustan, which, although not parts of our territorial dominion, are subject to our control,—more than one hundred millions of inhabitants.

But, even now, the catalogue of our possessions is not completed. For, returning from India homewards, you may observe, upon the coast of Arabia, at the entrance of the Red Sea, the military stronghold of Aden. Thence, passing upwards across the isthmus of Suez, and traversing the waters of the Mediterranean westward, you leave, upon your right hand, at the entrance of the Adriatic, the Ionian Islands, under the protection of British rule ; after which, Malta, with its dependency Gozo, and Gibraltar, rise up successively before you ; being trophies of the past, and pledges of future conquest.

Nor are these the whole of our European dependencies. For, in the North Sea, not far from the mouth of the Elbe, is the small Island of Heligoland, which has belonged to this country from an early period of the present century.

You have now taken a survey of the whole globe. From the wide Atlantic, towards

deed, had already established her viceroys in India, along the marts and havens of the Persian Gulf, in Malacca, Africa, and Brazil; had made herself mistress of the chief harbours of Ceylon, and was extending her settlements to Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. Spain, too, had laid her hand not only upon those Isles of the West Indies which Columbus had made known to her, but also upon the provinces of Mexico, Peru, and Chili. There she had established her religion and learning; and thence she had carried home her stores of silver and of gold. Moreover, in the reign of Philip II., the husband of our Queen Mary, Spain reached the opposite quarter of the globe, and acquired that rich cluster of Islands in the Eastern Archipelago, which still bears the name of that sovereign. France, also, had set foot in Canada, and was already laying the foundations of that extended dominion, which influenced so powerfully, in after ages, the destinies of Europe. Last of all, the States of Holland were fast making her way to that foremost rank among the commercial nations of the earth, which they afterwards attained. But no such evidences of success were then permitted to be proclaimed by England. Her flag had entered, indeed, the icy straits of

Greenland and Labrador, and passed the most northern extremities of Norway, Russia, and Lapland ; had been set up, in token of sovereignty, in the chief haven of Newfoundland ; had waved, once and again, upon the shores of Virginia ; had mingled in the shock of battle amid the islands of the West Indies, and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru ; and, as it floated through the straits of Magellan, across the Pacific and Indian Oceans, had been welcomed by native chieftains of islands within the tropics. It had been unfurled also, for a brief season, upon the waters of the Caspian Sea, by men whose adventurous footsteps led them in that direction from Russia ; and had been carried along the banks of the Oxus, into the Persian territory. It had visited the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, had long been known to the traffickers of the Canary Isles, and those who dwelt upon the shores of Guinea and Benin ; and, at length, pursuing its way to the islands and continents of the East, had passed the southern Cape of Africa. But, in spite of all these proofs of courage, and patience, and perseverance, upon the part of her sons, England could not call a single foreign territory her

own in any quarter of the globe, at the end of Elizabeth's reign. Her colonies, now so extensive, were then only a name¹⁰.

The next point to which I wish to advert, is, the laudable character of the motives which animated our countrymen in making these abortive efforts. Justice has not been done to them, in this respect, by some writers. Adam Smith, for instance, after he has observed of the Spaniards, that,

'The hope of finding treasures of gold' in the New World, 'was the sole motive which prompted them' to go thither ;—that, when they 'arrived upon any unknown coast, their first inquiry was always if there was any gold to be found there ; and according to the information which they received concerning this particular, they determined either to quit the country or settle in it,'

goes on to say that,

'the first adventurers of all the other nations of Europe who attempted to make settlements in America were animated by the like chimerical views¹.'

That this is, in the main, a correct description of the motive which influenced Spain in

¹⁰ I have here given the substance, and, in some parts, the words, of that which I have already stated upon the same subject in the fifth and sixth chapters of my *History of the Colonial Church*.

¹ *Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. c. vii. Part I.

her schemes of colonization, I fear it will be vain to deny. Yet, even here, it is only bare justice to the memory of Columbus, who opened the way to her colonies, to state, that impulses of a far loftier and purer character animated him²; and we may believe that not all they who followed his footsteps were strangers to the same feelings. But I cannot think it just to say of all our countrymen, that they were prompted to the work of colonization solely by the love of gold. On the contrary, I believe that, with respect to many of them, especially those who lived in the latter years of Elizabeth, there is abundant evidence to show, that the holiest and most enlightened motives guided them. I could, if it were necessary, give you many striking examples of such evidence³. For the present, I shall content myself with citing one testimony only. It is that of the author of the celebrated article upon Sir Walter Raleigh in the *Edinburgh Review*. Speaking of those among the English who, towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth,

² See pp. 195—199, *ante*.

³ I have adverted to some of them in my *Address on Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 288—291, *ante*; and have given many others in the first and second volumes of my *History of the Colonial Church*.

‘endeavoured to rouse their countrymen to a sense of the advantages to be derived from colonization,’ he says,

‘It is due to those men, to commemorate, with deserved praise, the enlightened views disclosed in their writings. The acquisition of mines of gold and silver was not, by any means, the recommendation to Colonial enterprizes which they held out. New fields of labour in new and propitious climes ; new means of employing a superfluous population ; new articles of exchange ; new markets, and great augmentations of shipping, were the beneficial results which they expected to realize from the plantation of Colonies in the New World. We do not mean to say that these views were constantly and systematically enforced ; but only that they constituted, with many, the grand recommendations to Colonial enterprise.’

Such evidences ought gratefully to be remembered, because the elements of disturbance, which are at work for ever in the world, and which are at once the results and monuments of the destroying power of sin, present, for the most part, a very different picture. They exhibit the lust of power, the thirst of gold, and the jealousy of rival thrones, as urging nations forward to the struggle, and employing violence and fraud to gain for themselves the victory. In some cases, it was the presumptuous decree of those who, sitting in

⁴ Edinburgh Review, No. cxliii. p. 10.

the Papal chair, gave over helpless barbarians to the lust and avarice of Roman Catholic conquerors⁵. In others, it was the not less questionable plea of discovery, urged by the more scrupulous Protestants,—as Hume has ironically called them,—a plea, by virtue of which,

‘if a pirate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves entitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants⁶.’

Thus, ‘what was first in God’s providence,’ was oftentimes ‘but second in man’s appetite and intention’; and the good which ultimately accrued to the world from the spread of that dominion whose first advances were marked by evil, can only be ascribed to His controuling wisdom Who causeth even “the wrath of man to praise Him.”

But, whilst we acknowledge this truth as gratefully as we confess with shame the cruelty and injustice of man which has thus been overruled, we may not pass by without grateful acknowledgment those instances in which the impelling motives to extend the

⁵ See p. 199, *ante*.

⁷ Bacon’s Works, vii. 123.

⁶ Hume vi. 32.

⁸ Ps. lxvi. 10.

English name have been humane, and wise, and just. I have reminded you of some which the history of a former day presents. Let me now proceed to notice another instance which happily distinguishes our own. I mean that connected with the settlement of Labuan, an island near to Borneo. There was no lust of conquest which led to its acquisition; no unhallowed love of silver or gold which turned the footsteps of our countrymen to its shores. The settlement was made simply through the honest determination of an English gentleman, devoting the prime of his manhood, and all his earthly means, to the spread of civilization over those benighted regions of the East. He left England in 1838, in his schooner yacht, with the intention of visiting Borneo. Having no selfish ends to promote, but desiring only to give to the Dyaks, the natives of Borneo, that protection from the Malay pirates which might secure the means of future prosperity, the Rajah Brooke has been conducted, step by step, to the lofty position which he now occupies. And here let me state, in his own hearty, unaffected language, the object of his first exertions at Sarāwak, and the result of them. It is from a letter to Mr. Gardner, written in 1842, and, I believe, not so much known as it deserves to be.

Having described the sufferings of the Dyak race, 'which are scarcely to be matched,' he says, 'in the annals of nations, and unequalled even on the coast of Guinea,' he thus writes:—

'After residing among this people, and becoming intimately acquainted with their characters and many virtues,—after witnessing their sufferings and patience, and very firmly convinced of the facilities with which they might be improved,—after struggling for a year to protect them, and after acquiring their slowly-bestowed confidence, it cannot be a matter of surprise that I appeal in their behalf to that generosity which I am led to think aids the distressed and commiserates the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. If a case of misery ever called for help, it is here : and the act of humanity which redeems the Dyak race from their condition of unparalleled wretchedness, will open a path for religion and commerce which may in future repay the charity which ought to seek no remuneration.'

Again,

'How much may be effected by small means I have already shown ; and I am now, and have been, holding the government of the country, with the Rajah Muda Hassim's assistance, with only four Europeans and eight natives, and in the space of eight months from a state of distraction, amounting almost to a struggle, the country is peaceful, and its inhabitants cultivating the ground. The experiment of developing a country through the residence of a few Europeans, and by the assistance of its native rulers, has never been fairly tried ; and it appears to me in some respects more desirable than the actual possession by a

foreign nation ; for if successful, the native prince finds greater advantages, and if a failure, the European government is not committed. Above all it ensures the independence of the native princes, and may advance the inhabitants further in the scale of civilization by means of this very independence, than can be done when the government is a foreign one, and their natural freedom sacrificed. Whatever may be the result in my own case, I shall have no cause to complain ; and whatever sacrifice I may fruitlessly make, it will ever be a source of satisfactory reflection that I have done much good in the country ; that I have saved the lives of many men ; restored many captives to their families, and freed many slaves from bondage ; that I have rescued an amiable and worthy native prince from the difficulties which beset him, and that I have restored him to a position whence he can claim what is his due ; that I have fostered an industrious and oppressed race, and in a time of famine have relieved numbers from starvation. That I turned back a piratical fleet who would have carried destruction and slavery throughout the country ; that I have assisted the Chinese to settle here ; and, above all, that I have repressed vice and assisted the distressed. I am proud to say this much ; and whatever the future may bring, I am ready to meet ; and I sincerely trust it may be of some benefit to the native races and the cause of humanity. Let not those at a distance imagine that I have suffered nothing, or sacrificed nothing in this task ; but personal convenience and personal advantage has not been, and is not my object, and after devoting time and fortune I shall retire with pleasure, if others will undertake to prosecute the plan more effectually ⁹.

⁹ Brooke's Letter to Gardner, pp. 26. 38.

This is Brooke's own sincere statement, at a time when he was not prepared to expect the expression of all that generous sympathy which has since spread from one end of England to another, in behalf of his noble efforts. May we not rejoice to find that he is permitted to carry on the work which he has so faithfully begun, and has received from the Queen of England those powers which he needs for the successful extension of it? May we not hope also, that, as governor of Labuan (whose cession by the sultan of Borneo to the British crown was negotiated by him), he may be permitted to raise a noble and lasting superstructure upon the foundation which he has so well laid? The busy and eager politician, indeed, who measures the justice or expediency of national enterprise only by the quick return of a direct and palpable profit, may think scorn of his labours, and speak of them as specimens of a vain and morbid sentimentalism¹⁰. But I am persuaded, that the mass of our countrymen,—conscious that Brooke is carrying forward a noble enterprise in a noble spirit, and that the page which records it is brighter than any which the history of British colonization unfolds to our

¹⁰ See Debates in the House of Commons, June 1, 1849.

view,—will continue to wish him heartily God speed.

There is one further point connected with this part of our subject which must not be forgotten ; and that is, the variety of internal divisions and troubles, in the midst of which the earliest and some of the most important colonies of England were acquired. Virginia, New England, Maryland, all bear witness to this fact. Proclaiming in their names their British origin, and the periods in which they were severally planted, they tell us, that those were periods immediately introducing the deadliest civil discord which ever agitated this country. The seed of that discord had been widely and thickly sown even in the reign of the virgin Queen Elizabeth, in honour of whom the name of Virginia was given to those territories of North America, which the agents of Raleigh then attempted in vain to colonize¹. The seed was again sown, and the promise of its future bitter fruit partially developed, during the renewed and successful efforts to plant Virginia under her successor James I. The chief officers, indeed, of the Virginia Company at home, and the governors of the infant Colony abroad, during that reign,

¹ See pp. 281—291, *ante*.

were, with one exception, guiltless of the intolerant spirit which then formed the burden and reproach of all parties alike ². But they were overborne by the evil influences around them. And, in the next reign, the continuance of the same evil influences seemed but to increase and ripen the fatal harvest, then reaped and gathered in.

I need not speak of the grievous confusion, the wide-spread ruin which ensued. All that I am now anxious to impress upon you is the fact, that, in the midst of such calamities, New England and Maryland were colonized ; the former, by Puritans ; the latter, by a Roman Catholic proprietor. The severities, which constrained the one or the other to make those settlements in a distant land, no man, I presume, will vindicate. Rather, we deplore them. We are ashamed of them. Yet they who, being oppressed, excite compassion, were not, in their own persons, exempt from the guilt of grave offences, which brought with them much present evil,

² I have given abundant proofs of this fact in the tenth and twelfth chapters of my *History of the Colonial Church* ; and it is important to bear it in mind, not only on account of the pleasing contrast which it presents to the persecuting spirit so prevalent in that day, but also because with some writers there is an unwillingness fully to acknowledge it, and by others it has been wholly omitted.

and were the source of fatal divisions afterwards. The persecuted Puritan, for instance, not only agreed to receive, but actually petitioned for and exerted all his influence to obtain, charters from the crown, the express conditions of which he openly and deliberately set at nought, as soon as he set foot in the territories which they assigned to him. And when, by this unjustifiable proceeding, he had established (what he called) independence for himself, he forthwith denied it to all who differed from him ; and that so rigorously, as to re-enact the most revolting cruelties which have ever been inflicted by spiritual tyrants upon their victims³. It can be no matter of surprise, therefore, however deeply it may excite our regret, that the relations between New England and Old were, from the outset, such as to place in fearful jeopardy those

³ For the evidences of this humiliating fact I refer the reader to the beginning of the sixteenth chapter of the work mentioned in the preceding note. And that I may not be thought to have put the case too strongly, I will only quote the words of Mr. Bancroft, the accomplished historian of the United States, who, speaking of the schemes of Church government by the people of Massachusetts, says, that 'the creation of a national, uncompromising Church, led the Congregationalists of that province to the indulgence of the passions which had disgraced their English persecutors ; and Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged.' i. 451.

feelings of mutual confidence and love which ought to be cherished by the mother country and her colonies.

Nor did a less difficulty exist in the case of Maryland, which territory was taken out of that originally assigned to Virginia, and granted, in 1632, to a Roman Catholic nobleman, Lord Baltimore, by Charles I., and called after the name of his Queen, Henrietta Maria. If, indeed, regard be had only to the personal character of the first Lord Baltimore, the settlement of a colony under such a man might have been looked forward to with good hope. For he was a man of unblemished reputation, upright and tolerant. His successors also inherited his virtues as well as his name; and the wisdom and benevolence of the first Popish rulers of Maryland will be found to put to utter shame and rebuke, the words and acts of many who then clamoured the most loudly against Popery. The intolerant statutes of the Grand Assembly of Virginia, the Puritan pride of Massachusetts, and the sentences of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court, exhibited in that day in England, were all alike condemned by the equitable government of the Lords Baltimore. I admit this most fully and unreservedly. Nevertheless, how stand the

facts? Sir George Calvert, upon whom the title of Baltimore was first bestowed, had resigned his office of Secretary of State under James I., in consequence of his having entered into communion with the Church of Rome. Having failed to establish a settlement in Newfoundland, he had proceeded to Virginia. And thence, having refused to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance,—an act, not less demanded by the laws of the mother country than of the colony, and which the difficulties of the times continued to make imperative⁴,—he had returned to England,

⁴ Mr. Roebuck, in his work upon the Colonies of England (published since this Address was delivered), has not described this transaction justly. 'Virginia,' he says, 'hated Popery, and no sooner was Sir George Calvert known to be within her territories, than he was pestered and persecuted by demands to take anti-Catholic oaths, and thereby forced to leave this vineyard of the saints—this chosen seat of Protestant Purity.' p. 41. This taunting description of Virginia might have been spared, had Mr. Roebuck taken pains to consult the original authorities. The fact is, the Colony had no choice in the matter. Baltimore must have known that the law requiring the administration of the oath existed in the Colony, and she could not put it aside. With respect to the oath itself, I would only remark in the words of Mr. Hallam, that, 'except by cavilling at one or two words, it seemed impossible for Roman Catholics to decline so reasonable a test of loyalty, without justifying the worst suspicions of Protestant jealousy.' Const. Hist. i. 556. With respect to the terms of the Maryland Charter, Mr. Roebuck does not

that he might obtain, through another channel, the liberty which he desired to possess, of planting a colony in America. The penal laws contained in the English statute-book, at that period, it is well known, would have hindered the attainment of his desire, had they been enforced. I am no apologist for such laws. I state only the fact of their existence, and the repeated promises of the King that they should be enforced. Nevertheless, Baltimore gained all he asked for. And, in spite of the opposition of many enemies to his design, who tried, for eighteen months, at the Council Board to overthrow it, his influence with the king and his ministers was such as to procure, in 1631-2, a charter, which gave to him and his successors greater privileges than had ever yet been conferred upon any subject of the British crown. There is a disingenuousness also pervading the whole instrument which merits the strongest reprobation. Not only does it not contain a single word which indicates that the favoured proprietor of Maryland was in communion

appear to be at all aware of the serious manner in which the acceptance of its conditions compromised the character of Baltimore. I am not at all surprised that he should have overlooked this fact, as no notice of it is taken by Bancroft, who is Mr. Roebuck's only guide in this part of his work.

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with the Church of Rome, but its most conspicuous privileges are actually based upon the opposite assumption, that he was a faithful member of the Church of England. Its first and last clauses, for instance, insist upon the extension and support of the Christian religion, meaning thereby no other exhibition of Christianity than that which the Church of England then professed and taught in all her formularies, and which was presented freely to all her people in her authorized version of the Bible. Again, it invested him with the patronages and advowsons of all Churches which might hereafter happen to be built, and with the power of erecting and causing them '*to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom of England.*' And, lastly, it conferred upon him all the royal rights and temporal franchises which were held and enjoyed by the Bishops of Durham in that day⁵. I call your attention to these circumstances—

⁵ It seems impossible to understand how, with these conditions of the Maryland charter before him, Bancroft could have said of it as he does, i. 243, that 'Christianity was by the charter made law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect; and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured.' Mr. Roebuck, by implicitly following Bancroft, has fallen into the same mistake, p. 43.

which have been strangely overlooked by nearly every writer of American history—for the purpose of showing to you the difficulties in which they necessarily involved Maryland from the first hour of her existence as a colony⁶. Here was a charter for her government, the provisions of which neither could be, nor were ever intended to be, executed according to their plain and obvious meaning⁷. What but confusion and misery could

⁶ I have stated the above circumstances more at length, and with references to all the original authorities, in the fourteenth chapter of my History of the Colonial Church.

⁷ A remarkable instance of the evil arising out of this state of things, is found in the following enactment of the Maryland Assembly in 1638: 'Holy Church within this Province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises, wholly and without blemish.' These are nearly the words of the first section of Magna Charta; and, as I have observed in the passage referred to in the preceding note, it is evident, that the proprietor of Maryland, being a Roman Catholic, understood by the expression 'Holy Church,' only that Church with which he was in communion; the jurisdiction of which, in matters spiritual and temporal, was established in England when Magna Charta was signed; and the renewal of which he would naturally have been anxious to effect in Maryland, as soon as the opportunity arrived for accomplishing it safely. But then, as I have remarked above, the charter, from which alone he derived his whole authority, had provided that all Churches, to be erected and founded under his sole licence, and of which he was to have the sole patronage, were to be dedicated and consecrated according to those ecclesiastical laws which were in force at the time of his re-

ensue? And so it proved. The history of Maryland, in spite of the equitable spirit which, I have already said, distinguished the successors of Baltimore, is a history of great disorder⁸; and, at the expiration of little more than fifty years from its first settlement, an insurrection broke out, which led to the temporary abolition of the proprietary government, and to the constitution of Maryland as a royal colony⁹.

But it was not in these provinces only that proof is to be found of the difficulties under which the earliest colonies of England were founded, and of the impediments thereby cast in the way of those amicable relations

ceiving his charter. If these conditions were to be faithfully observed, what became of the 'Holy Church,' which alone Baltimore, and the majority of his followers, recognized as the true one? If not, what is to be thought of the consciences of those who, whilst they proclaimed one thing, intended another?

⁸ An Act passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1649, and which I have quoted, *ib. ii.* 168, sets forth a picture of religious discord then existing in the province, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel even in that age.

⁹ It is important to observe, that among the alleged causes of the insurrection, is one, the truth of which it is impossible to deny, and which bears out all that I have said concerning the vicious character of the Maryland charter, namely, that the churches, which by the charter ought to have been consecrated according to the ecclesiastical law of England, had been converted to Romish uses.

between themselves and the mother country, which, for their mutual benefit, ought to have been preserved unbroken. The same state of things will be found to have prevailed, in a greater or less degree, in every other quarter of the globe, to which the knowledge of the English name was extended during the same period. Every where the same story of religious or political strife was repeated. The calamities of England peopled her colonies. Nay, more. The continuance of them deprived her of her first, her noblest colonies. The same miserable misrule, which sometimes irritated by harsh restraint, at other times neglected with careless indifference, 'a people who were still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood'¹, did, in the end, experience the terrible chastisement which it had so long continued to provoke. And so the hand of parent was lifted up in deadly feud against the child; and the hand of child against the parent. The ties of a common government, which had held them together for more than a century and a half, were separated, not by the force of argument, or of interest gradually persuading each to feel that such a separation would

¹ Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America. Works, iii. 46.

work for the good of both ; but, amid the angry disputes of senates, and the shock of contending armies, were rudely wrenched asunder.

Such is the humiliating record which arrests our attention in the history of England and her Colonies, and which it is impossible to evade or explain away. One consolation, indeed, remains to us ; and that is, the recollection of the common origin from which the strength of the United States, and our own ancient monarchy, has been derived ; and the hope which necessarily and closely follows it, that the offices of kindly affection, surviving all change of forms of government, and speeded by the facilities of nearer intercourse which multiply around us, shall bind together the sons of America and of England in the bonds of an enduring brotherhood.

The expression of such a hope brings us back to the consideration of that part of the third division of our subject which yet remains to be examined, namely, the ties which connect us with our Colonies. They are, in fact, the same with those which every where connect the parent with the child. It is the duty of the parent to deal justly by, and act kindly towards, the child. So likewise should the mother country act towards every Colony.

Her citizens, who leave her for her Colonies, are still her subjects. They are entitled to her protection here; it must not be withheld from them there. All that they have and enjoy as their birthright at home should, as far as it is possible, be extended to every one of them, in its fulness and integrity, abroad, or the work of colonization will be a cruel mockery². If any scheme, bearing that name, be framed merely with the object of getting rid of the surplus population of our country, in order that they who remain behind may have freer room to spread themselves, it must and will entail, and that most justly, the heaviest reproach and condemnation upon us. We dare not commit the sin of 'shovelling out our paupers' as so much refuse matter. On the contrary, it is our duty still to regard and treat them, wheresoever they be, as our fellow-subjects, and fellow-countrymen. If I thought that any of the plans, now occupying the public mind upon the subject of emigration and colonization, were urged forward

² That Greece acknowledged and acted upon this principle in the settlement of her colonies is evident from the words which Thucydides puts into the mouth of the C^{or}-cyræans: Πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριούται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. Thucyd. i. 34.

in forgetfulness of this truth ; or that the effect of them would be, directly or indirectly, to take advantage of the necessities of any poor man, and, by thrusting him into the back-settlements of some far-off country, to shut him out for ever from our sight and remembrance, I should reject them with indignation and shame. I should feel that Englishmen who acted thus were guilty of the sin, and would be smitten with the curse, of Cain. The question must issue from the mercy-seat of the Most High, "Where is thy brother?" And, though the spirit of evil might prompt the desperate answer, "I know not: am I my brother's keeper?" yet the voice of our "brother's blood" would cry unto God "from the ground" into which we had cast him. And, as witnesses of God's avenging justice, we should fall, and deserve to fall, from our high estate, and be driven forth as fugitives and vagabonds "in the earth".

It is not only this consideration which proves the sacredness of the obligations which bind the mother country to her Colonies. There are others also which bind her to the aboriginal inhabitants of those Colonies. And it is just because England, in common with

³ Gen. iv. 9—12.

every other nation of Europe,—to their shame be it spoken,—has frequently and flagrantly violated these obligations ; because there are no darker pages in our national history than those which relate the oppressive treatment of the aborigines of many of those countries over which we now hold, or have held, dominion ; because the tide of native life has been beaten back in well-nigh every quarter into which the stream of our population has been poured, and the swarthy inhabitants of the West, of the East, of the South, have alike withered, or are withering away, at the approach of the white man ;—therefore does it the more imperatively behove us to do what in us lies to prevent the renewal of such evils, in time to come, and, by acts of justice and kindness and truth towards the natives of those climes and their children, to atone for the evils which we or our fathers have wrought. It is, indeed, a long and heavy arrear of debt we owe to them. It seems to me very difficult to understand, how the mere fact of our having discovered their territories before other nations of the civilized world, can of itself give us any just or exclusive right to claim them as our own. It may be, indeed, and is, admitted by the chief maritime powers of Europe, as a conventional and

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convenient rule for determining among themselves the course of their own respective enterprises. And, where the land is uninhabited, it may be fairly urged as an authority for undertaking its settlement. But, how can it vindicate the forcible acquisition of countries, whose inhabitants are gathered together in different parts of it, under circumstances approaching those of 'civilized communities, or scattered in hunting tribes over the wilderness? Their right,' it has been justly said,

'whatever it was, of occupation or use, stood upon original principles deducible from the law of nature, and could not be justly narrowed or extinguished without their own free consent ⁴.'

Nevertheless, the principle was established, from the very first, 'that discovery gave title to the government, by whose subjects, or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments.' And not only so. The principle has been acted upon ever since of admitting the natives, indeed, 'to a present right of occupancy, or use in the soil,' but making all 'subordinate to the ultimate dominion of the discoverer ⁵.' It seems

⁴ Story's Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, i. 4—7.

⁵ The best summary which has been published of the

to me very difficult to vindicate the justice of such a principle. The writer of treatises upon natural law may urge his abstract arguments ; the jurist may cite his precedents ; and the statesman, upon their authority, may draw up his instructions for appropriating to this or that purpose the territory of distant isles and continents. But the real principle, into which all these proceedings resolve themselves, is that expressed in the maxim that 'might makes right.' There is no right, however, which does not involve its correla-

historical confirmations adduced in support of this principle is perhaps that given in the judgment delivered in the case of *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, by the late Chief Justice Marshall of the United States. It is given at length by Judge Story, *ib.* 8—20. I quote some passages at its conclusion : 'The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold, and assert in themselves, the title, by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest, and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty as the circumstances of the people would allow them to exercise. The power now pursued by the government of the United States to grant lands, resided, while we were colonies, in the crown, or its grantees. The validity of titles given by either has never been questioned in our courts. It has been uniformly exercised over territory in possession of the Indians. The existence of this power must negative the existence of any right which may conflict with and control it.'

tive duty. And, if nations, calling themselves civilized, vindicate their assumption of the right, by urging that they can apply the soil of

‘the savage, to uses or cultivation different from, and perhaps more beneficial to society than the uses, to which the latter may choose to appropriate it’;

it remains for them to prove the value of the argument, and their own sincerity, by realizing those beneficial ends which they avow themselves so much better able to promote. And how can this be done but by pursuing a righteous conduct towards the aborigines of those lands over which they hold dominion?

We have now arrived at the last point proposed to our consideration, namely, the aids and encouragements which our Colonies hold out to the honest, intelligent, and industrious citizens of our own country. I do not include in the consideration of this part of our subject the whole of the territories which have been before enumerated. The possessions, for instance, which serve only as military or naval stations, or the continents and islands of the East or West Indies, or Western Africa, or the frozen regions of

⁶ Ibid. 6.

Hudson's Bay, are not places which ordinarily attract emigrants. Few persons, in fact, can be expected to have either the will or the power to resort to them, save in obedience to the calls of professional duty, or the claims of kindred or of property already existing there. Nevertheless, after leaving these out of the account, you still have many and vast dependencies of the British crown open to colonization, namely, the provinces which I have pointed out to you in British North America, the south of Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. These various regions, indeed, differ not more in their situation upon the globe, than in their external character and natural productions. But a fertile soil and healthy climate are to be found in each of them, and they comprise an extent of territorial surface far exceeding the wants of the population which at present dwells upon it, or any that can possibly be drawn to it for ages yet to come.

The provinces of British North America, for instance,—to which a steam-vessel will carry you from this country within ten days, and a sailing-vessel within thirty, or a little more,—present to your view not only an extensive sea-board, but an inland navigation by lake, and river, and canal, to which no

country in the world can furnish a parallel. It stretches many hundred miles away to the far West, exhibiting in turn mountains and prairies, farms and forests. The forests abundantly supply the settler with the timber which forms his dwelling, and the merchant with materials of profitable trade; and, after the timber has been felled, the soil has been known to yield fifty bushels of wheat or more per acre, even on farms where the stumps of trees (occupying probably an eighth of the surface) have not yet been rooted out. I have not now the time to speak of the many other various productions of these territories; of the minerals, for example, found beneath their surface, or the abundant fisheries upon their coasts. Suffice it to say, that, in almost every quarter of them, materials are at hand to stimulate and reward the industry of man. And, in spite of the severity and length of the winter season which prevails there, he will find that he may carry on his appointed work with health and energy unimpaired. The price of land in the Canadas ranges from three to eight shillings per acre; and in New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island, the price has been higher. When the land has been partially cleared and fenced, it sells at an

advance of from 1*l.* to 4*l.*, or more, per acre. If the settler should prefer clearing the land for himself, he may reckon upon an expense of from 2*l.* to 4*l.* per acre, in addition to the original purchase ; and, in the remoter districts, where labour is more scarce, the cost is, of course, still greater. Millions of acres, duly surveyed and available for the settlement of emigrants, remain yet unoccupied. And, when I state that throughout these different provinces, containing an area little inferior in size to that of Europe, the population, at the last census, did not amount to much more than a million and a half,—less, that is, than the population of London alone,—you need no further testimony to prove the extent of opening presented to the enterprises of our fellow-countrymen in this one quarter of our Colonial Empire.

Turn next to the Cape of Good Hope, —which, even before its recent enlargement by the acquisition of Port Natal, comprised a territory equal in size to Prussia, with a population of about 170,000 souls,—and you will find a soil fitted for flocks, and, in many parts, for agriculture and the growth of the vine ; the fruits of Europe and the tropics growing in the open air ; the climate healthy ;

the demand for labour urgent ; the average of wages higher, and the cost of provisions lower, than in this country. All these, again, are circumstances which hold out a good hope to the industrious emigrant.

And thence, if you carry forward your attention to Australia, you will see in New South Wales,—the foundations of whose capital, Sydney, were laid not sixty years since,—a population of 160,000 collected. And yet the Committee of her Legislative Council report in 1842, that they see no reason to depart from the opinion which they had already oftentimes expressed, that ten or twelve thousand persons might be introduced every year, without occasioning any redundancy in the population. Five years afterwards, you find the Governor-General recommending the immediate introduction of five thousand adults into the Colony, and the emigration agent, Mr. Merewether, reporting, that even twenty thousand in that year, 1847, would not be too large a number ; and the Committee of the Legislative Council of Sydney concurring in such report. Again, in the district of Australia Felix or Port Philip, of which Melbourne is the chief town,—a district not settled until 1837, but throughout which more than half a million has

been laid out by the agriculturists and other land-proprietors, in purchasing and cultivating extensive block lands,—you will find, that there are thousands of acres of as rich soil as ever plough was put into ; that, last year, nearly forty thousand acres were under cultivation, half of which were sown with wheat ; that some portion of the land had been brought under the cultivation of the vine ; that it is not less favourable for pastoral, than for agricultural, pursuits ; and that the amount of horses, horned cattle, pigs, and sheep in the district, was between four and five millions ; being an average annual increase of thirty-two and a half per cent. and doubling itself in less than three years.

And, as for South Australia, of which Adelaide is the capital, although, sixteen years ago, it was a desert unknown to Europeans, and its chief harbour ‘covered only by water-fowl, and enclosed in a mangrove swamp,’ yet now a large and prosperous town has arisen upon its coast ; and ships from Europe, India, and the neighbouring colonies, unload and receive their rich cargoes in its crowded, but safe, roadstead. Like other regions of the same island continent, it has its extensive sheep-walks, increasing its stock of sheep from 28,000 in 1838, to 530,000 in 1846, and

exporting, in 1845, 1,331,788lbs. of wool, the value of which amounted to 72,236*l.* The breeding of cattle and horses, and the cultivation of wheat, also thrives within the colony. But that which gives to it its distinctive character, is the discovery which has been made of valuable metallic ores, chiefly lead and copper, in different parts of the province. The sale of land has increased from this cause, from 598 acres in 1843, to 3428 in 1844, 69,658 in 1845, 31,301 in 1846, realizing as much as 75,715*l.* to the colonial treasury. Let me lay before you also the following official account of the imports and exports of Port Adelaide.

	Total imports.			Total exports.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1843	109,013	0	9	80,853	12	2
1844	118,915	6	11	95,272	14	6
1845	184,819	18	5	148,459	4	7
1846	329,099	12	9	312,837	16	6
1847	410,825	9	6	350,348	12	2

Asking you to bear in mind the important fact, that by far the largest portion of the above imports came from this country, and to that same extent put in motion the energies of her

manufacturers and other artizans, and gave profitable employment to her merchants and mariners, I pass on as quickly as I can to the consideration of the other openings to our countrymen presented in that quarter of the world. On the west coast of Australia, and towards the north of its eastern coast, and also in Van Diemen's Land, settlements are rising into importance, not, indeed, at the same rate of progress with those which have been before noticed ; but in every one of them a demand exists for labour, which can only be supplied by the immigration of fresh inhabitants. I must not omit to state here, that the evils which, in past years, pressed so heavily upon New South Wales and other penal settlements of Australia, in consequence of the convict system which prevailed among them, have been checked by its being no longer allowed to transport thither any more criminals. And, even in Van Diemen's Land, where the evils still continue to exist, changes have been made and are in progress which, it is hoped, may soon mitigate them.

Of the three chief islands of New Zealand, lying about ten days' voyage south-eastward of Australia, I will only remind you, upon the present occasion, of the well-known fact,

that, in the fertility of their soil, the mildness of their climate, the commodiousness of their harbours,—above all, in the benefits which, from an early period of their acquisition have been extended, by the promulgation of Christian truth and the zealous services of faithful and self-denying Christian men, both to the native and European population,—advantages are held out to the British emigrant, second to none that can be found in any part of our Colonial Empire¹.

And now look back again from these varied and extensive regions of the West and of the South, and consider the condition of your own country. Contrast their mutual wants. There, you have territories whose area is twice as large as that of Europe, and the population of which is less than two millions. Here, you have islands whose area is but a twentieth part of that of Europe, and the population of which is thirty millions. There, you have food which, of late years, has been sometimes wasted for lack of

¹ For further particulars respecting each of the above-named Colonies, see The Emigration Circular, Mc. Culloch's Geographical Dictionary (with Supplement), The Reports &c. of the Society for the Promotion of Colonization, Butler's and Byrne's Guides to Emigrants, and the other valuable publications upon the same subject, enumerated in the Catalogue of Mr. Saunders, Bookseller, 6, Charing Cross.

mouths to consume it^s. Here, you have many thousands for whom it is difficult to find provision. There, you have a demand for labour far greater than the supply, so that it has actually happened, that 'corn has been shed for lack of reapers, and wool injured for want of shearers.' Here, let the labourer seek as long and earnestly as he will for work, he oftentimes cannot find it. He sees others, on every side of him, seeking for work as eagerly as himself. Rather than have nothing to do, and nothing to live upon, both he and they are content to receive a less recompence for their work than that to which they are fairly entitled. Distress drives them to the lowest point at which they can struggle on for existence. And, after all, there are thousands, yea, millions

^s 'In the Legislative assembly of New South Wales, in the month of June last, it was stated, that this year (1848) no less than 64,000,000lbs. of meat would be wasted, sufficient to feed 1,000,000 of those poor people who were starving in England and Ireland.' In New South Wales the people are 180,000, the cattle 2,000,000, the sheep 8,000,000, being about thirteen head of oxen and 50 sheep for each person. The superabundance of food is wasted for want of mouths; the corn is shed for lack of reapers; the wool is injured for want of shearers. Herds of cattle and flocks of sheep are boiled down for tallow there, while thousands are famishing for want of food here.'—See a Pamphlet entitled 'Competence in a Colony,' &c. p. 5.

of our countrymen, who either cannot obtain work, or have not the strength to do it ; and are left, therefore, to subsist on 'gratuitous relief, or by forced and profitless employment' Hence the appalling amount of our Poor-rates, and the difficulties which, in spite of all, still assail us every where. What, then, is plainer, than that to relieve the wants of our Colonies will be to relieve those from which the mother country suffers most severely ; to supply the lack of their population will be to lessen the redundancy of our own ; to send forth labourers into their market will be to lighten the burden of competition that oppresses our home market ? It is this competition, this 'terrible competition,' as it has been justly called, 'of capital with capital, and labour with labour, which is the permanent cause of our distress'. It must be so, by reason of the narrowness of those limits which confine the energies of our countrymen, as long as they remain within these islands. Something, doubtless, may be done towards the mitigation of them by a better cultivation of lands now under the plough, and by bringing into cultivation others which have been hitherto unproductive. Other

⁹ Buller's Speech on Systematic Colonization, p. 21.

sources also may be opened at home, from which may be derived fresh means of support for our citizens. But, after all has been done which the purest humanity can dictate, or the most unwearied diligence and skill can accomplish, within the borders of our own islands, you cannot make those borders wider than they are. You cannot extend the actual surface of the soil you tread upon. Meanwhile, remember, a thousand living souls are added every day to the amount of your population at home. Multiply this by months and years, and then ask yourselves what is to be the result, if the field of employment be not enlarged. Behold the means, then, of that enlargement supplied in our various Colonies. And, when we invite you to repair to them, what do we 'ask you to do, but to carry the superfluity of one part of our country to repair the deficiency of the other; to cultivate the desert by applying to it the means that lie idle here,—in one simple word, to convey the plough to the field, the workman to his work, the hungry to his food¹?'

You have seen the vastness of that field to which we invite you to carry the plough,

¹ Ibid. p. 26.

the variety and richness of that work in which we call upon the workman to ply his energies, the abundance of that food which we spread before the hungry man, that he may eat thereof and be satisfied. Assuredly the power which England now possesses to call this wide inheritance her own, and the facilities which she has at her command to waft in her ships to so many varied regions of the globe, the teeming population of her own home, are a direct call from the God of heaven and of earth that we should thus employ them, thus profit by them? We may say of them, with perfect truth, in the words of that poet whose fame, growing brighter as his years decline, sheds honour upon our land in which he still lives, that,

‘ As the element of air affords
An easy passage to the industrious bees,
Fraught with their burthens; and a way as smooth
For those ordained to take their sounding flight
From the thronged hive, and settle where they list
In fresh abodes—their labour to renew ;
So the wide waters open to the power,
The will, the instincts, and appointed needs
Of Britain, do invite her to cast off
Her swarms, and in succession send them forth,
Bound to establish new communities
On every shore whose aspect favours hope
Or bold adventure ; promising to skill
And perseverance their deserved reward.’

‘Yes,’ he goes on to say, ‘kindling as he speaks,

‘Change wide, and deep, and silently perform’d,
This land shall witness; and as days roll on
Earth’s universal frame shall feel the effect,
Even till the smallest habitable rock,
Beaten by lonely billows, hear the songs
Of humanized society, and bloom
With civil arts, that send their fragrance forth,
A grateful tribute to all-ruling Heaven ².’

And here let me remark to you, that, when the poet speaks of these reflex benefits,—of ‘the songs of humanized society’ reaching from these ‘new communities’ to ‘the smallest habitable rock beaten by lonely billows,’ and of the ‘fragrance’ of their ‘civil arts’ ascending as ‘a grateful tribute to all-ruling Heaven,’—he not only gives utterance to a truth which, in its fullest sense, Sacred Prophecy had long since proclaimed, when it spake of “the kingdoms of this world” becoming “the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ,” and of “the earth” being “filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea ³,” but he bears witness to another and

² Wordsworth’s *Excursion*, b. ix.

³ Rev. xi. 15. Hab. ii. 14.

most important principle, of which we may not lose sight in our present consideration of this subject: namely, that the benefit of such reflex consequences is extended, with respect to things temporal, in their first and fullest efficacy, to the mother country, from whose bosom the Colony has gone forth. Let me prove this to you in the words of that statesman whom I have already quoted, and whose early death has led me,—in common with many others who may not have sympathized with him in all his political opinions,—whilst we deplore his loss, to cherish more gratefully the precepts of weighty wisdom which he once delivered.

‘The whole, nay, the main advantage of colonization,’ said the late Mr. Charles Buller, ‘is not secured by that mere removal of the labourer from the crowded mother country, which is all that has been generally implied by the term emigration. His absence is only the first relief which he affords you. You take him hence to place him on a fertile soil, from which a very small amount of his labour will suffice to raise the food which he wants. He soon finds that, by applying his spare time and energies to raising additional food, or some article of trade or material of manufacture, he can obtain that which he can exchange for luxuries of which he never dreamed at home. He raises some article of export, and appears in your market as a customer. He who a few years ago added nothing to the wealth of the

country, but, receiving all from charity, simply deducted the amount of food and clothing necessary for existence and decency from the general stock of the community—he, by being conveyed to a new country, not only ceases to trench upon the labour of others, but comes, after providing his own food, to purchase from you a better quality and larger quantity of the clothing and other manufactures which he used to take as a dole, and to give employment and offer food to those on whose energies he was a burden before. Imagine in some village a couple of young married men, of whom one has been brought up as a weaver, and the other as a farm-labourer, but both of whom are unable to get work. Both are in the workhouse; and the spade of the one, and the loom of the other are equally idle. For the maintenance of these two men and their families, the parish is probably taxed to the amount of 40*l.* a year. The farm-labourer and his family get a passage to Australia or Canada; perhaps the other farm-labourers of the parish were immediately able to make a better bargain with their master, and get somewhat better wages; but, at any rate, the parish gains 20*l.* a year by being relieved from one of the two pauper families. The emigrant gets good employment; after providing himself with food in abundance, he finds that he has wherewithal to buy him a good coat, instead of the smock-frock he used to wear, and to supply his children with decent clothing, instead of letting them run about in rags. He sends home an order for a good quantity of broad cloth; and this order actually sets the loom of his fellow-pauper to work, and takes him, or helps to take him, out of the workhouse. Thus the emigration of one man relieves the parish of two paupers, and furnishes employment, not only for one man, but for two men.'

Having thus proved, by an illustration, the truth and clearness of which I suppose no one can dispute, he went on to show the extent of trade which colonization has produced.

‘I hold in my hand,’ were his words, ‘some calculations from the returns laid before the House respecting the trade and shipping of this country. The first is a statement of the declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom in 1840, distinguishing the exports to old countries from those to our own possessions, and countries that have been colonies. I find that the total amount of these exports is to foreign countries 22,026,341*l.*, while that to our own possessions, and to countries which still belong to other powers, or have recently been colonies, amounts to no less than 28,680,089*l.*, or nearly as four to three. Take the employment given to our shipping, and you will find the results very remarkable; for, while the amount of British tonnage employed in the trade of foreign countries appears, from a similarly constructed table which I hold in my hand, to be 1,584,512 tons, that employed in trade with our foreign possessions and the colonial countries amounts to 1,709,319 tons. With respect to shipping, indeed, the result is more remarkable, if we confine ourselves merely to our own colonies, for it appears that the trade of the three great groups of colonies alone,—those of North America, the West Indies, and Australia,—employed, in 1840, 1,031,837 tons, or nearly one-third of the whole British tonnage cleared outwards ‘.

⁴ Buller's Speech, *ut sup.* 28—33.

It is impossible now to lay before you all the evidence that might be urged in support of the above statement. But this much at least I may mention, out of the mass of testimony which is at hand, namely, the proportionate consumption by foreign countries and our Colonies of British exports. The whole population of the world, for instance, is reckoned at 860 millions, and supposed to consume yearly to the amount of 1*s.* 2*d.* per head of our exports. Now, of the countries not subject to British rule,

	£	s.	d.	
Prussia is estimated at	0	0	6	per head.
Russia	0	0	8	„
France	0	1	6	„
The United States	0	5	8	„

But of our Colonies:—

Canada is estimated at	1	15	0	„
West Indies	2	17	6	„
Cape of Good Hope	3	2	0	„
Australia, from £7. to	10	0	0	„

With respect to Australia, it may be further stated, upon the authority of the late Chief Commissioner of Emigration, that, whilst her population is ‘less than an eighth of the older North America population,’ her ‘trade with this country exceeds the former value of the other by more than a million

sterling.' And not only does she consume the largest amount of our produce. She supplies the largest amount of raw material used in our principal and oldest manufacture at home. A third, in fact, of all the wool imported into this country comes from Australia⁵.

But it is obvious that, where relations such as these exist between a mother country and her Colony, the reflex benefits arising from them is not limited to the mere interchange of commercial produce, or to the mutual stimulus thereby given to the industry and enterprise of their respective citizens. A bond of sacred brotherhood unites them both ; and, by virtue of that bond, the dearest charities of social life spring forth in either land into quick and vigorous action, whensoever the necessities of the other call for them. It was so in the case of our most ancient Colonies, even in that very period of irritation and dispute which led ultimately to their severance from us. 'For some time past,' said Burke, in his memorable Speech on conciliation with America, in 1775,

'For some time past, the old world has been fed from the new. The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had

⁵ Competence in a Colony, &c., ut sup. 4.

not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent *.

It was even so. The history of the Roman daughter feeding her imprisoned father from 'the full breast of' her 'youthful exuberance,' exhibited not a more touching proof of the strength and loveliness of filial piety, than did the zeal and energy with which the English colonies of North America supplied out of their abundance, the wants of their 'exhausted parent.'

But see what has happened since, and tell me if you find not therein a mighty confirmation of the power and endurance of that sympathy which thus binds the Colony to its mother country. The scarcity, of which the philosophic statesman thus spake in our fathers' days, has again been felt by ourselves. Yes, the horrors of 'a desolating famine' have been realized within the last three years—can we venture to say that they have even yet ceased wholly to exist?—in many a part of the United Kingdom. And remember that the large amount of contributions, so freely given to the relief of that distress, was swelled from every quarter of our Colonial Empire, not less than from every town and village of the islands

* Burke's Works, iii. 44.

in which we live. A portion of that relief, indeed, let us thankfully acknowledge, has been received from foreign countries'. Another large portion has been received from those territories of which I have just now spoken—territories once our own, and whose close connexion with ourselves, by the ties of a common origin, will survive every external change. But it is to the countries, which I have been describing to you as our present Colonies and Dependencies, that, next to the generous efforts of our brethren at home, we are indebted for the largest amount of succour. I believe you can hardly find a single outlying portion of all those extensive and remote dominions, from which the words and acts of purest sympathy have not come back to us in our hour of need. Look only to the fund of 236,487*l.* expended in money, food, or clothing, among various districts of Ireland, by the British Relief Association,—and I need scarcely remind you that, although the largest, it was not the only fund then raised, in aid either of Ireland or Scotland,—and

⁷ See the Report of the British Relief Association (1849), which specifies the munificent offering of 1000*l.*, sent by the Sultan, and many other like offerings from persons in his own and other States of Europe.

you will see abundant evidence to prove this. The Bahamas, 800*l.*; Barbados, 3000*l.*, and more; New Brunswick, nearly 2000*l.*; Newfoundland, more than 800*l.*; the Bermudas, not less; Bombay, upwards of 10,000*l.*; Guiana, 1200*l.*; Jamaica, upwards of 5000*l.*; Hobart Town, near 1500*l.*; the Mauritius (including the Seychelles), 3000*l.*; Nova Scotia, 2665*l.*; St. Kitts and St. Lucia, more than 600*l.* each; South Australia, 1000*l.*; Trinidad, near 1500*l.* These are a few instances, taken at random, from only one of the many lists of contributors who then came forward to help us. With respect to some of those countries, it may be said, in the glowing language before quoted, that they did indeed put the full breast of 'their youthful exuberance to the mouth of their exhausted parent.' But others,—I mean our West Indian possessions,—gave even of their penury, to feed our starving people. Weighed down beneath the burden of their own grievous losses, disappointments, and perplexities, which they assert,—and can we deny the truth of the assertion?—have been caused by the fiscal regulations of the British Legislature, they have yet remembered the claims of the suffering inhabitants of the British Isles. We may renew concerning

them, indeed, the testimony which the Apostle once bore to "the churches of Macedonia" and say, how that "in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For to their power," we "bear them record, yea, and beyond their power they were willing of themselves; praying us with much entreaty that we would receive the gift*."

You must admit that it is our part gratefully to acknowledge the evidence of such sympathy, wheresoever it is found to operate between our Colonies and ourselves. We should be animated, by the remembrance of it, to a more diligent exercise of those offices of justice and of kindness which shall tend to preserve it unbroken. If, as I have before said, the ties which bind us to our Colonies are none other than those which bind the parent to his child, there is evidently no department of public duty upon which rests a more awful weight of responsibility than that entrusted with the superintendence of our Colonies; none which more imperatively demands the hearty disinterested co-operation of all private citizens, the full application of every legitimate means of help at

* 2 Cor. viii. 1—4.

their command, to give effect to its designs. We read of the colonists of Greece, in the ancient plenitude of her glory, that they carried forth with them the rites of their native land, and the sacred fire that was kindled upon the shrine of their native city ; and, if that fire were by any accident extinguished, they repaired again to the Prytaneum of the same city, to revive its flame. We read, too, that they sent yearly deputies to the mother city, to perform sacred services to its divinities ; and that, from her likewise the high-priest of the colony was received¹. Let these be witnesses to remind us of the duty at all times resting upon us, to make each one of our Colonies, as far as in us lies, a partaker to the very uttermost of the gifts which distinguish our own inheritance. Let no unworthy fear or jealousy tempt us to defraud them of this right. But, with equitable, and generous, and confiding spirits, let us furnish them, in their nonage, with those temporal appliances and means of help which shall enable them hereafter to send out, in their turn, the like offshoots, and to multiply the like kind,—not in any spirit of proud antagonism, or hostile

¹ See the notes of Hudson and Duker, quoted in Arnold's *Thucydides*, i. 24.

independence,—but as sons, still honouring, still reverencing, in their manhood, the parent that has nurtured their youthful years. It is said to be a rule of our common law, that no man can cast off the claims of his country'. Let it be our part then to provide, that this sacred relation be maintained “not by constraint, but willingly.”

And, since the choicest portion of our birthrights, as subjects of the British Empire, is not alone its temporal wealth or majesty, but the Word and the Spirit of Him Who hath thus “founded it upon the sea, and prepared it upon the floods²,” then not less clearly does the conclusion follow, that, by the power of that Word and that Spirit should both the parent country and the Colonies be controuled. There burns upon our shrine a flame far purer than that kindled upon the altars of heathen divinities. Let those, therefore, who now go forth from this their home, be not less careful than were the heathen to take with them, and keep alive, its brightness; and let us who remain take heed that we withhold it not from any.

² *Nemo potest exuere patriam.* Roebuck on the Colonies, p. 24, note.

³ Ps. xxiv. 2.

It is no part, indeed, of the avowed designs of the Society, in connexion with whose labours I now address you, to secure to the Christian emigrant, from its own resources, those means of spiritual help which he requires, and which a Christian country is bound to furnish. Its managers have acted, I think, wisely, in leaving this duty to be performed through the medium of other agencies. The work of Christian edification, we believe, is always best done, when they who teach and they who are taught, are of the same communion, and are enabled thereby, without disturbing the consciences of others, or tampering with their own, to "walk by the same rule," and to "mind the same thing⁴." In the strength of this conviction, whilst I readily concede to others the same freedom of action which I claim for myself, I feel that the only course which I can follow in the propagation of Christian truth, must be in accordance with the offices, and in obedience to the spiritual rulers of that Church of which I am thankful to call myself an ordained minister⁵. A like conviction, I take it for

⁴ Phil. iii. 16. See pp. 2, 3, *ante*.

⁵ This is not the place for me to show the amount of service which the Church of England has been enabled to render to her Colonies ; and I confess with shame that it falls far short of what she ought to have done, and still

granted, is cherished by others who may differ from that Church in doctrine or in discipline. A Society, therefore, like the present, which has neither the power nor the wish to judge between such differences, but professes only to promote the means of successful Colonization among those of our countrymen whose temporal interests lead them towards it, may safely trust that the duty of providing for their spiritual wants will be undertaken by others. At the same time, I should not be doing justice to the feelings of many members of its Committee, if I did not state that a Sub-committee has been formed for the purpose of sending out efficient schoolmasters in every ship. Our own Branch Society is trying to forward the same work. It is effectively carried on also at Plymouth, Liverpool, and elsewhere. The Emigration Commissioners, moreover, furnish every facility towards its promotion, and thereby have established another claim to the grateful acknowledgments which have long been due to them for the excellent manner in which they discharge their duties.

is bound to do. Nevertheless, I must protest against the injustice of Mr. Wakefield's representations upon this part of his subject, in his recent work upon the Art of Colonization, pp. 161—165. Had he bestowed more attention upon the facts connected with it, I am satisfied that he would have written in very different terms.

And hence we may reasonably indulge the hope that few vessels, if any, destined to convey the emigrants to our Colonies, shall be permitted to leave the harbours of England, without having some competent teacher on board.

In bringing this Address to a close, I feel that I have been compelled to leave many topics unnoticed, and have dealt very imperfectly with others. Allow me, nevertheless, to hope that the magnitude of the work which has here been presented to your attention, and the variety of the interests which it involves, may enlist your sympathies in its behalf; impressing you with a deeper sense of the wants of those who are members of the same body politic and body mystical with yourselves; and stimulating you to avail yourselves of the opportunities and means of help which the present position of our Colonial empire extends to you. To those who would urge us, on the pleas of a so-called political economy, to abandon that position, I would not only answer, with Lord Bacon, that,

‘It is the sinfulness thing to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many com-miserable persons’;

* Bacon's Essays, Works, i. 115.

but, further, I would say that it betrays the most narrow and selfish of our true destiny as subjects of the greatest empire of the world, and is a faithless abandonment of the stewardship which its Almighty Governor has entrusted to our hands'. The moralist and critic of a former age could speak of Colonization as a work pleasing and delightful to the imagination, in

'the establishment' which it afforded, 'of those in security, whose misfortunes have made their own country no longer pleasing or safe, the acquisition of property without injury to any, the appropriation of the waste and luxuriant bounties of nature, and the enjoyment of those gifts which Heaven has scattered upon regions uncultivated and unoccupied ⁷.'

What would he have said now, when so many further considerations present themselves to show that it is no longer merely a work of which the poet may love to contemplate the progress, but one which demands the help of all who would "pray for the peace of" our "Jerusalem," and who, for their "brethren and companions' sakes,"

⁷ An excellent refutation of such opinions is given in Wakefield's *Art of Colonization*, pp. 97—105. The well-known arguments of Jeremy Bentham against the maintenance of our Colonies are refuted by his admission that it is wise to keep them to meet the wants of a redundant population. *Works*, iii. 52.

⁸ Johnson's *Life of Savage*, *Works*, x. 361.

would "wish" her "prosperity?" And ought not this to be the prayer of every one to whom I speak? Their prosperity and their adversity alike are yours. If the lowliest of them suffer or rejoice, you share their suffering not less than their joy. You cannot break asunder this bond of union, if you would. I trust, you would not, if you could. Join heartily then with us in the effort which we now desire to make, God helping us, to promote the common welfare of our country. We will not inflame your passions by bidding you go and swell the numbers of those who dig for gold. We believe that the history of such adventures will be, as it always has been, a history of crime and misery. But we invite you to repair to regions, in which, day by day, 'the manners, the institutions, the religion' of this our dear country are planted, and in which, along with every other precious benefit which they bring, there is secured, to every honest and industrious man, 'A FAIR DAY'S WAGES FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK' ¹.

² Ps. cxxii. 6. 8.

¹ See the admirable Essay on Colonization, by the present Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Hinds, quoted in Wakefield's *Art of Colonization*, pp. 107—119.

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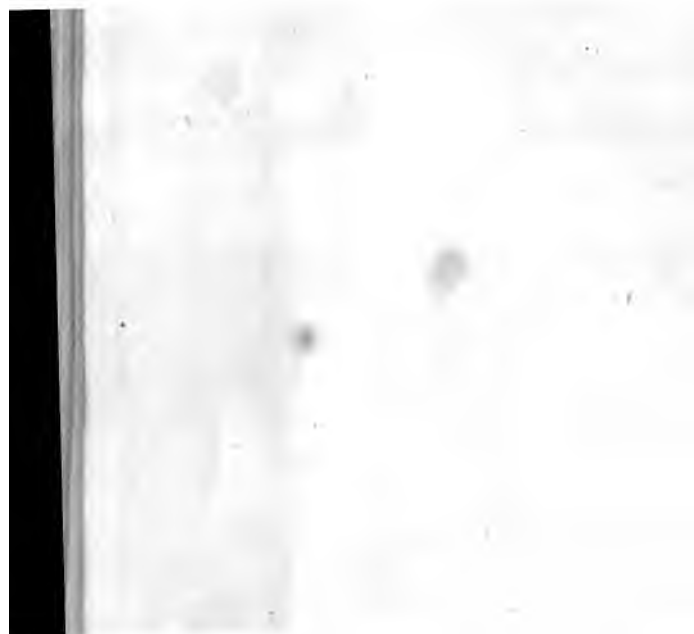
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